

[Information on Toda sib organization will also be found in category 618.]

Tarthāl mand, rice is cooked for her in water. When a Tarthāl woman visits at a Têrthāl mand, she is permitted to enter into the mand, and food is cooked for her in butter-milk. The restrictions which are imposed on Têrthāl women are said to be due to the fact that on one occasion a Têrthāl woman, on a visit at a Tarthāl mand, folded up a cloth, and placed it under her putkūli as if it was a baby. When food was served, she asked for some for the child, and on receiving it, exhibited the cloth. The Tarthāls, not appreciating the mild joke, accordingly agreed to degrade all Têrthāl women. According to Dr. Rivers, "the fundamental feature of the social organisation is the division of the community into two perfectly distinct groups, the Tartharol and the Teivaliol [=Dēvalyāl of Brecks]. There is a certain amount of specialisation of function, certain grades of the priesthood being filled only by members of the Teivaliol. The Tartharol and Teivaliol are two endogamous divisions of the Toda people. Each of these primary divisions is sub-divided into a number of secondary divisions [clans]. These are exogamous. Each class possesses a group of villages, and takes its name from the chief of these villages, Etudmad. The Tartharol are divided into twelve clans, the Teivaliol into six clans or madol."

When a girl has reached the age of puberty, she goes through an initiatory ceremony, in which a Toda man of strong physique takes part. One of these splendid specimens of human muscularity was introduced to me on the occasion of a phonograph recital at the Paikāra bungalow.

Concerning the system of polyandry as carried out by the Todas, Dr. Rivers writes as follows. "The Todas have long been noted as a polyandrous people, and the institution of polyandry is still in full working order

PERSONAL NAMES OF THE TODAS¹

By M. B. EMENEAU

IN societies organized in sibs, the sib unit sometimes has a name which is borne by all its members. Personal names often have no relation to the sib unit, but either are drawn from a common stock which may be utilized indiscriminately by all the sibs, or are invented according to patterns which are distinct from the pattern of sib-division. The latter type is seen in the system employed by the Plains Indians of North America. The former resembles the family naming system employed normally in European or European-derived cultures, where it is not combined with a sib-division except in such groups as the Scottish clans.

§1. An example of sib-division combined with utilization of a common stock of personal names is seen in the Coorgs of South India. Among these people the patrilineal sibs have each a name which is borne by every member of the sib. Personal names are drawn from a rather small stock, consisting of some sixty names for men and a slightly smaller number for women. A male or an unmarried female is identified by the sib-name, the father's personal name, and the individual's personal name, in this order. A married female bears her husband's sib-name, his personal name, and her own personal name. There seems to be no tendency for personal names to be linked with particular sibs. A slight tendency is found to preserve the use of particular personal names within the family (as distinguished from the sib) by giving to a child the name of some dead ancestor within the family whose memory it is desired to perpetuate. It is doubtful, however, whether this tendency has even as much force as the similar tendency in European or American society; a notable difference between the two is that the Coorgs do not give such names during the lifetime of the earlier bearer of the name, since this would cause a certain amount of confusion within the family.

§2. Among the Todas, a pastoral tribe of the Nilgiris in South India, the method of giving names is different from both those outlined above. The individual does not bear a name which is common to all members of his

¹ This paper represents a small part of the work which I have done on the non-literary languages of South India, under the auspices and with the financial aid of the American Council of Learned Societies in 1935-36 and of the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) in 1936-37. I have to acknowledge my gratitude to Dr David Mandelbaum, who read over the paper and made numerous helpful suggestions. The system of phonetic writing for Toda words is the same as that employed in my paper, *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos* (*American Anthropologist*, Vol. 39, pp. 103-12, 1937); in that paper, f, g, x should be read for v, s, ɣ in Toda words throughout. Accent is always on the initial syllable.

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patrilineal sib. Only one name is borne by each individual. Rivers² mentions the fact that, if two individuals bear the same name, one of them will change his name. Such identity of name is avoided merely to escape confusion and misunderstanding. Identical names can seldom occur among men for reasons that will be clear later in this paper. They are more likely to occur among women. One recent case is that of two women who were named *sondərɪɪdz*. One of these is the daughter of *imuxɪwɪn* (19, Imokhvan)³ and she retains the name in this form. The other is the daughter of *midɪxɪwɪr* (63, Midjkudr); she is usually called *sondɪwɪr* to distinguish her from the other, though her full name may still be used when there is no possibility of confusion.

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§3. To make clear the background of the naming system it is necessary to clarify the religious system of the Todas. Each sib possesses a number of *munda*,⁴ which are essentially holy places or gods with dwelling houses attached. The holy place or god is the localized dairy-complex, all the elements of which are holy. The elements are the sacred buffaloes (as opposed to the non-sacred buffaloes), the dairies, and the milk of the buffaloes. No further localization of the divinity appears to be made within the complex. All the contents of the dairies, bells, tools, coagulant (called *pep*), partake to some degree of the holiness of the complex, and, like the buffaloes and the milk, must not be profaned by contact with profane persons; but it cannot be discovered that any object or place is especially the seat of the divinity. Linguistic evidence has made it clear that this is correct. In both songs and speech the *mund* (excluding the dwelling houses) is referred to as *ɪtɪ* "god" or *noɪr* "sacred place" or by the compound *tɪdnoɪr*, and my informants can make no distinction between these terms, or between *mod* "mund" and *noɪr* when these two form a pair in the songs.⁵ These divinities are to some extent anthropomorphic, since it is said that all the gods, including the gods of the Hindu pantheon worshipped in the plains, the Toda gods who are mountains and rivers of the Nilgiris, as well as the god *ɔm* who lives in the world of the dead, and the gods who are the *munda*, i.e. the *tɪdnoɪr*, hold assemblies to settle their disputes in the dairy of the *mund* *mymj*.

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² W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), p. 623. He has a chapter on "Personal Names," pp. 619-27.

³ The number of the genealogical table in Rivers and the spelling of the name in the table will be given for each individual mentioned.

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⁴ Toda terminology applies the word *mod* to (1) the sib as a whole, (2) each separate dairy institution plus a dwelling place which belongs to the sib, and in several other ways which are not in point here.

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⁵ For the technique of the songs, see my paper, *The Songs of the Todas* (Proceedings, American Philosophical Society, Vol. 77, pp. 343-60, 1937).

It is said that the munds and the other gods assemble there, and their approach and departure are known to the Todas when they see whirlwinds going into or leaving the dairy. All lamps when they are extinguished at night go to this dairy to provide light in case the gods are holding a night-assembly.

§4. The prayer at each dairy is made up of a list of names of objects connected with the dairy-complex, in forms usually different from their ordinary names. These are the *kūarm* (the word is best translated as "sacred name"). For each mund (in sense 2 of footnote 4) there is a pair of *kūarm*, as also for the people of the sib as a whole (among the *toirōsoi* moiety, but not among the *tōūfi* moiety), for the buffaloes of the sib, and for the funeral-munds, *ti*-dairies (i.e. the most sacred grade of dairy which never has dwelling houses attached), and their buffaloes. Some of the more important mountains, rivers, Badaga villages, and other localities on the Nilgiris have similar pairs of *kūarm*, while all the other less important localities, small streams, valleys, ravines, hills, groves and the paths through them, level grounds and rocky grounds on the hills, buffalo tracks, etc., have a name and at least one *kūarm* by which they are mentioned in prayers. All these places are regarded as being closely associated with some mund, generally the nearest one. In addition, within the mund there are dairies, pens, calf-sheds, watering-places, rocks, cooking-places used at ceremonies, trees, shady places where the people sit, all with names and at least one *kūarm* which is used in prayers. The bells in dairies are also named. All such things and places are referred to in songs also by the *kūarm*.

MEN'S NAMES

§5. Each sib then has associated with it a large number of names and *kūarm*, most of them with sacred associations. It is from these that men are named. In many cases a name is used without change. *ūu*soir of the *mel*gaisoi (48, Ushadr) is named after the chief male funeral-place of the sib. *paung* (47, Pongg) is named after a bell in one of the dairies of the sib. *maikais* of the *kaisoi* (10, Makars) has the name of one of the *ti*-places of this sib. *toir*jaŋ of the *kaisoi* (15, Tarziolv) has the name of the *kur*poŋ dairy at the mund *kais*. *kom*ŋŋi of the *toir*oŋsoi (23, Kandu) is named after the pen of the *kog*foŋ dairy at the mund *toir*oŋ. *pepoib* of the *mel*gaisoi (44, Pepob) has the name of a snake said to live at *kuis*is, a mund of the sib. *kōir*oŋrūm of the *kōir*oŋsoi (26, Keradrkutan) has as his name the second *kūarm* of the people of the sib. *ot*jaŋz of the *pur*gaisoi (34, Atiurs) has the second *kūarm* of the people of the sib. *munoinbi*ŋtj, son of *kot*aiŋŋ (12, Kōkaidi) has one of the *kūarm* of the buffaloes of his sib.

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§6. Most frequently some modification is made in the name. Often this is done to avoid a personal name that is in use simultaneously or that has been used in a previous generation. See e.g. *tæθj* in §12 and *tæθjæin*, the name of his great-grandson explained in §16. *tæpæwæxwæθj*, son of *tæipæx* (20, Teipakh), and *tæwænwæx* (25, Tiveners) are both called after the *kogfoj* dairy at the mund *toirorj*, which is named *tæpæwæxfoiθ*. In the case of one man *panwæx* (23, Paners), I was told that his real name is *koinwæx*, which is the first *kūasm* of the mund *poθair* of the *toirorjorj*, but that a real *kūasm* of a mund cannot be used in addressing a man for fear he may suffer misfortune or die. The name *panwæx* is based on the second *kūasm* of this mund, *paingub*, with unusual changes. This explanation may be correct, but two men of this same sib are called by the unchanged *kūasm* of two munds which were abandoned so long ago that the real names are not remembered, viz. *θikjæθj* (24, Irkiolv) after the *kūasm* *θirpæwæx*, *θikjæθj*, and *oixwæθj* (24, Orguln) after the *kūasm* *oixpæwæx*, *oixwæθj*; the *kūasm* are remembered from their use in the prayer of the calf-sacrifice of this sib. That we are not dealing in these two cases with munds whose gods are regarded as no longer existent is clear, for *kiirpæwæx* of the *nirjorj* (43, Kidrners) derives his name from the unchanged second *kūasm* of the mund *nirj*, and *orjæis* of the *mōirorj* (16, Odikars) from the unchanged second *kūasm* of the mund *pan*. In fact, so long as an abandoned mund is remembered at all, it may be re-occupied, and it seems clear that the Todas do not believe that the god vanishes when a mund is abandoned.

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§7. Modification follows a number of patterns, some of them not always clear. If a place-name is being adapted, such suffixes or second members of compounds which characterize the locality are frequently dropped entirely or replaced by others. E.g. *tōūmod* (24, Teimad) < a valley (*paθ*) called *tōūmodfoj*; *mogoj* (24, Mogal) < *mogojnæis* "cubit (*mogoj*)-shade (*næis*)," a shady place at the male funeral-place *tyθtūwæx* of his sib.⁶ *kakair* (20, Kakar) < *kakairūwæx*, an open place in the middle of thickets (*kūwæx*) near the mund *toirorj*. See also *kæin* in §16. If another suffix is used, it sometimes is one that is appropriate to the locality, as in *kiθjmurj* (20, Kidimudri) < *kiθjmun*, a mountain; *mun* is the peak of a hill and *murj* may have the same meaning, though it denotes most generally the top of anything which is shaped well, e.g. a conical dairy, a gracefully spreading tree, a man's hair cut in the style peculiar to the Todas. It is probably substituted here because of this emotive connotation.

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⁶ Rivers (p. 623) supposed wrongly that this man was named "from the language of every-day life." His name is undoubtedly the same as the common noun in phonetics, but derived as it is by curtailment of a place-name associated with the sib, its connotations are very different from those of the common noun.

§14. The suffix -om is fairly common. The meaning of this suffix is "he who is, or has" (cf. the song passage quoted in appendix to note 7 above); this is clear in the name nasom (a son of tæpax [20, Teipakh]) "he who has beauty, or is beautiful." From such transparent cases the suffix has spread to other less transparent cases, as e.g. kūrom of the purgo:ro: (34, Kwo-dron), who is named after the mund kūairōnyj with shortening of the first vowel (cf. panus in §6). The suffix -air is fairly common. I know of one name with this suffix based on the name of a rock at a watering-place (which should end in er "flat rock"), but my informants were unable to remember the name of the rock; the man's name is sinair (55, Sinar). Other examples connected with sibs do not occur in my material. sirjair (20, Siriar) < siriruggam, the Tamil name ordinarily spelt in English Srirangam. The parents of this man made a vow for children at the temple there. pi/jair (52, Piliar) seems to be derived from the common noun pi/j "silver" by this suffix. However, the name has a peculiar origin in that it was given by this man's recently dead grandfather in a dream experienced by his father. A sib origin could not be given for it, or at least was not sought for; it is, however, based on the familiar type and probably has reference to some sib-object, perhaps the kuirsoj dairy at the mund kūiūur, which has as kūarm pi/jag, which was used unchanged for this man's younger brother (Piliag).

§15. Rivers took -olj (his -olv) to be an ending of personal names as such, as well as an ending of dairy-names. The Todas, however, do not seem to regard it in this manner. In all the examples, with two exceptions, a personal name with this ending is first a dairy-name. So tou:rajf in §5, and ōik:rajf in §6; the latter is one kūarm of an abandoned mund, but in all the cases where a mund has a name of this type as one kūarm, this represents a dairy at the mund. The two exceptions are kūu:rajf (52, Kuriolv) and paruki:rajf (7, Pakursiolv). The former is made from kūu:ru:n, the ground where the sacred buffalo is killed at pits, the male funeral-place of the sib, but with its ending derived by the informants from puna:rajf, the second kūarm of the funeral-place, referring to the funeral-hut, which represents a dairy. paruki:rajf < paruki:rajnir, the watering place of the kurpo:j dairy at the mund kas, with the ending from tou:rajf, the name of the kurpo:j dairy. I know of only one dairy-name in por: used as a personal name, viz. tyj:por: (12, Tilipa), which is derived from por:tyj:por:, the kūarm of the tūso:j dairy at the mund naerminor. Usually some change is made, as in tūpær:tu: and tūf:nus in §6 (cf. §9 and §11) and pi/š:jānir in §21.

§16. A few of the names which were explained to me have very irregular formations. punur (23, Puner) < panarōš, the second kūarm of Mt.

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[553] pañtəj near the mund kərkos. edzen (22, Idjen) <iɪdsəf, a valley near the mund pañtəj; this man was afterwards called kərkəx, from a rocky ground near the mund təɪlgūwɪr, since there was another man called edzen. nətɪj (25, Natuli) <kinxətɪj, a rocky ground with a deep pool near the mund pañtəj; kinxətɪj = "small (kin)-stone (kə)-deep pool (tɪj)," and nətɪj = "beauty (nə)-deep pool (tɪj)." I could not discover that nətɪj was ever regularly applied to this locality. təɪjxəm (see §6) is said to be a combination of təɪj and kəm, a brother of təɪj who is not found in the genealogical tables. The latter name is derived from kəməŋ, cf. kəɪngūwɪtə (§9) and kəmədɔz (§13) and see §7 for the process of formation. The formation of a name by the combination of two others is unusual but it is paralleled in pmlkɪtəj, for which see §12.

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614 §17. Practically all the names analyzed above are derived by one process or other from names or kūsəm of things or places closely associated with the sib in each case. Another class of names of men derives from the names of gods of the Hindu pantheon or from temples, if a vow was made to these gods or temples for the birth of a child. So sirjəɪr in §14. Others are moɪrəwɪr, a son of tɔdɔxɪn (23, Teitukhen), named from the goddess moɪrəwɪn, i.e. Mariamma; noɪxəɔɪdɪn, a son of sirjəɪr (table 20). <noɪxɪr "Nagore" or noɪxɪrɪxɪrj "the temple at Nagore" with ɔɪdɪn "king." The famous mosque at this place is treated by the Todas exactly as if it were a Hindu temple, an interesting example of the syncretistic tendencies of an illiterate and untutored Indian community. This name seems to have been influenced phonetically by the word noɪxəɪr or noɪxəɔɪf "cobra."

§18. Two names of Hindu divine figures, who do not possess any temples known to the Todas, are known to me. The first is ɔɪdɔɪn "Arjuna" (25, Kagerikutan); the representation of Sanskrit n by Toda ŋ is a sporadic and irregular change. This name is also shortened to ɔɪdɔ. The other name is idjəɪn (a son of tɔɪpəx, table 20). This is from idɔɪdɪn "king (ɔɪdɪn) Indra (id)." One of the Toda gods appears in ɔɪngūwɪtə (20, Enkutan); ɔɪn, the god who lives in the world of the dead, is not especially associated with any sib. One of the semi-mythical heroes kəŋtəŋ, who belonged to the sib of the meɪgəwɪf, had another name meɪlɪtəz, which is now borne by a man of this sib (44, Meilitars).

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197 §19. I know of one case of a Toda who was given the name of a Hindu of another community, viz. kəɪntəz, a son of kəmədɔz (table 21), who was named after the Maharaja of Mysore's maternal uncle Kāntarāja Arasu, formerly Diwan of the states and known popularly in Mysore as Kāntarasu. (ɔɪz is the Toda representation of Kannada arasu, which appears in the names of members of the Maharaja's house and is Englished as Urs; it

also means "Englishman, European in general." It may be that the Tamil *erusan* is also concerned in the origin of the Toda word, but in that case we should expect final -n to remain.). It is to be expected that names of Badagas might be adapted, and perhaps such cases occur, but I have no record of any.

§20. One name that I know of has reference to an incident in the life of a man's father. *udjoisn* (34, *Udiosan*) was made from *udj* "a government appointment" and *oisn* "he who became," since when this man was born, his father held an appointment as a forest-ranger.

§21. Many of the examples given above are names of men of the *torroir* sib. In order to give a comprehensive view of all the names of one sib, I collect those here with references to the paragraphs where they are treated above and add all those that have not yet been mentioned. A few names given in Rivers' tables of this sib are not remembered by my informants, either because they belonged to children who died before they made any mark in the tribal life, or because the taboos on the names of the dead have caused them to be forgotten. I mark with an asterisk those names that follow the norm of derivation from names of places, objects, etc., connected with the sib.

RIVERS' TABLE 20

- **tæñj* (§12)
- **tusiñj* (§12)
- **tuppiñj* (§12)
- **nöirnus* (Narsners) < *unöirof*, the second *küasm* of the *mund tæil-güwir* (see *nertnus*, §11)
- **muñbiñj* (§12)
- **ertsiñj* (§12)
- **kakair* (§7)
- **tæipax* (Teipakh) < *tæiñtæipax*, a pen at the *mund torroir*
airjair (§§14, 17)
- **tæifxüwir* (Tavkudr) < *Mt. tæif* near *torroir*, "he who has horns as tall as *Mt. tæif*" (cf. §8)
- **kiñjmurj* (§7)
- **pañxüwir* (Pankudr) < *pañxüwir*, two pens, one at *torroir*, one at *karkor* (cf. §8)
- **kökisjxüwir* (§9)
- **æidj*, son of *kakair*, < *æidjæixur*, a ravine near *pañtair* (cf. §7)
- idjom* (§18)
- nasom* (§14)
- **tupmæixüwir* (§§9, 15)

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öngüwtu (§18, and cf. §9)
noxoroidu (§17)
*tæwjuen (§16)
*pwtsofxüwtu (§9)

RIVERS' TABLE 21

- *petūwəj (§12)
- *karəwəw (§10)
- *onrdūwəj (§12)
- *paukiəj (§12)
- *kydsiəj (§12)
- *kūw:tiəj (§12)
- *pi:kjntw (§11)
- *kæmodz (§13)
- *iəxūw: (§8)
- *munə:z (Muners), name of a mountain near the funeral-place ty/tašw: (cf. §5)

kūdjxarts (Kudrvas), son of kæmodz; this was the name of the father or grandfather of pettūmθj, a great man of former times. The origin of the name is unknown; a guess was hazarded that the first part (kūdj) represents the Badaga word for an umbrella and has to do with the shape of a tree connected with the sib.
korntaarz (§19)

RIVERS' TABLE 22

**pułkišj* (§12)
 **kiŋjzæir* (Kiuniar), a level ground where the game el, tipcat, is played near the mund paštair (cf. §5)
 **poigar* (Polgar), a valley between torroir and paštair (cf. §5)
 **edsen*, alias **kšorzas* (§16, and cf. §5)
 **puŋdūw* (Pundu) < *paŋdūw*, a cooking ground at *kərkos* (cf. §16)
 **kōmumw* (Keimuv) < *kōmmuŋw*, the dairy watering-place at paštair (cf. §7)
 **paštūw* (Pushtikudr) < *nerpašt* (§§8, 11) with special reference to the pašt "large flat lichen-covered rock" at the mund
 **twikūš*, son of *poigar*, < *twikūmteš*, a mountain, formerly a semi-mythical hero who belonged to the sib

RIVERS' TABLE 23

*panus (§§6, f1)
*tokas (Tokas), a mountain near karkos (cf. §5)
*punter (§16)

- *tōōūxn (Teitukhen), a mountain near toiroir (cf. §5)
 *idzxūwɪr (§8)
 *komdūwɪ (§5)
 *tōōūwɪ, son of toikas and puinwɪ, <name of the general pen at toiroir (cf. §5)
 moŋonwɪs (§17, and cf. §11)

RIVERS' TABLE 24

- *purtʃefwɪn (§10)
 *wɪrkūwɪrɪwɪn (§10)
 *kidʒūwɪtɪ (Kidʒutan), origin unknown to my informants (cf. §9)
 *ōikjəf (§6, 15)
 *tōōmod (§7)
 *ōixūwɪtɪ (§6)
 *toilɪəj (§12)
 *nertnɪwɪs (§11)
 *magoj (§7)
 *piʃtjxūwɪr (Pushtikōdr) <piʃtjforū, the second kūasm of the dūsoj dairy at toiroir (§15, and cf. §8)
 *tyʃjodzxūwɪr (§13, and cf. §8)
 *kæinxūwɪtɪ (§9)

RIVERS' TABLE 25

- *natyʃj (§16)
 *kərgæwɪrɪwɪn (§10)
 *kūwɪrjɪwɪs (§11)
 *tūwɪfɪwɪs (§6, 11, 15)
 *wɪdʒəŋ (§18)

§22. This list contains 66 names, plus one alias; 6 of those in Rivers' tables were unknown to my informants. Of the 67 names, 2 are of unknown origin, one (kūōdʒarts) is doubtfully connected with the sib, 8 are definitely not connected with the sib, and 56 (55 plus one alias) are definitely connected with the sib. Expressed in percentages and counting the one doubtful case with the two of unknown origin, we have approximately 83.6% accounted for as being sib-names, 4.5% of unknown origin (and the presumption is that they are sib-names), 11.9% derived from other sources than the sib. In a similar enquiry into the names of the piʃtoʃ, 59 names (one an alias) were known to my informants. Of these, two could not be analyzed but were presumably sib-names, 56 were certainly sib-names, and one was doubtful. This last was koimdsōin (62, Komjon) "queen-bee." When he was born, his parents were living at kaʃiəj in the Wynad where honey is

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55/ very plentiful. The informants conjectured that this fact accounts for the
 614 name; if so, it too is in a manner a sib-name. Similarly töm, a son of pišjag
 [237] (52, Piliag), has as name the word for "honey," said to be used because
 honey is for the Todas surrounded with taboos and in some sense holy.
 When the names of the kwišūtoŋ, the sib of this man, were investigated,
 100 were sib-names, 3 could not be analyzed but were presumably sib-
 names, one was of non-Toda origin, one (töin) has just been analyzed, and
 one, pišjair, is of peculiar origin, for which see §14. In my investigations I
 have complete analyses of the names of these three sibs. The latter two are
 the largest sib of the töšfišjoŋ moiety and one of the smaller ones. The
 toiroŋ sib, belonging to the toiroŋ moiety, is one of the larger sibs of
 the moiety. Its names show a larger proportion with non-sib and non-Toda
 origin than either of the other two, and I suspect from the samplings of
 names that I have made from other sibs that it has probably a higher pro-
 portion of such names than any other sib. All the larger toiroŋ sibs, how-
 ever, show a few such names. When it is considered that none of these sibs
 is as large as the kwišūtoŋ and that the latter has only two names of non-
 sib and non-Toda origin out of the 106 analyzed, and that the pišjoŋ have
 no name of non-Toda origin and only one that was not certainly derived
 from the sib, we may see here evidence to substantiate further Rivers' state-
 ment that the töšfišjoŋ moiety is more conservative than the other.

WOMEN'S NAMES

[24] §23. Women's personal names are not derived or allowed to be derived
 from the sib. It is evident, however, in one case that the thought of a sib-
 association had operated in the formation of a woman's name; this is the
 first name treated in the following paragraph. It was difficult to get any
 definite interpretation of women's names from the men; they are quite un-
 interested in the matter. Their stock answer is that women's names are
 derived from names of flowers; but in fact, I have in my material no name
 so derived. Women informants were no more interested in the matter than
 the men, though they could analyze the names of men of their father's or
 husband's sibs with almost as much ease as the men. However, many of the
 women's names are quite transparent, and some principles can be stated.
 In a number of cases it is clear that words frequently used in songs are at
 [53] the base of women's names, and it will emerge in the sequel that association
 with the songs is to be suspected in most of them. In the detailed discussion
 of the names song-associations will be pointed out whenever they are known
 to me.

55/ §24. A frequent suffix of unknown meaning, probably merely a formant
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of female-denoting significance, is -iɪdz. E.g. aɪliɪdz (3, Aɪliɪdz) is derived by this suffix from aɪl "small pebbles used in playing jackstraws or as counters in reckoning accounts." This woman was born in the sib of the noɪoɪ; it was at noɪ that the goddess tōkɪsɪ performed her acts of creation and divided up the Todas into sibs and assigned buffaloes to the sibs. In the songs when this is referred to, a usual pair of phrases is:

mazaxɔj	potsuθnoɪr
first-hand	where (she) placed-sacred place
mazaxaɪ	oikjuθnoɪr
first-pebbles	where (she) set out-sacred place

i.e. "(noɪ) the sacred place where tōkɪsɪ in the beginning laid on her hand and set out pebbles in making the divisions." It is clear that aɪl in the woman's name was used because of the association of her father's sib with tōkɪsɪ, and it is probably significant that no other name has been discovered with this element. Another name with this suffix is moɪɪdz (7, Manɪdz); moɪ "soil, owned land" is a member of several pairs in songs—iɪpɛsɪdz, moɪpɛsɪdz "quarrels (pɛɪdz) about women (iɪ, a Badaga word) and land;"

iɪpɛxɪtɪ	koɪjoθik
woman-bungalow	you built
moɪpɛxɪr	kertoθik
earth-pool	you dammed

i.e. "though a woman, you built a fine house and dammed with earth a pool to supply water." tɛrmiɪdz (44, Termɪdz) < tɛrm "alms" (indirectly from Sanskrit dharma) has in mind the passage in the songs where a woman is praised for her alms-giving. nɔɪtɪɪdz (3, Notɪdz) < nɔɪtɪ "a sight," has in mind the pair describing funerals and festivals: koɪleɔɪt, koɪpɛtɪtɪ "dancing (oɪt) with the legs (koɪl), sights for the eyes (koɪ)." poɪɪdz, daughter of kɔɪmɪpɛx (52, Kulpakh) < poɪ "colored cloth" is probably derived from the song-unit oɪsɔɪdɪfoɪ which refers to a loincloth put on by men when they drive the buffaloes round in the pen at a two-day funeral. sɪniɪdz (21, Sinɪdz) < sɪn "gold." lɛɪbiɪdz, daughter of tōkɪtɪuɪr (63, Telkudr), < lɛɪbm "profit" (indirectly from Sanskrit lābha). ruɪpoɪɪdz (also ruɪpoɪ), daughter of kɔɪmɪnɪs (34, Kemners), < ruɪpoɪ "rupee." rɛɪmiɪdz (38, Ramɪdz) < Rāma, the divine personage. roɪdɪɪdz, daughter of poɪdz (34, Podɪ), < roɪdz "kingdom" (indirectly from Sanskrit rājya). pɪkɪɪdz (28, Pirkɪdz) < pɛkɪtan, the Toda form of the English name Breka, after the Collector in the Nilgiris who did ethnological work on the Todas. sonmiɪdz (63, Sanmiɪdz) < sonm "the people" (indirectly from Sanskrit jana); this

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an extent that their phonetics follow the Toda pattern: pæib , daughter of ðiknæus (8, Arkners), <"baby;" pent , daughter of koxdũwũn (42, Kadrkutān), <"bench (i.e. of magistrates in the courts)." The English "station," i.e. police-station, becomes in Toda tæisn ; a woman's name tæis is derived by dropping -n; which if it were kept would give the word the appearance of a man's name (daughter of kajniir , 3, Kainir).

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§30. The Sanskrit dēvi "goddess" borrowed indirectly gives tifi (8, Tivi). Several goddess names (Hindu) with this as final element are found, among them amandisif , daughter of kũwũlpax (52, Kulpakh), the first element being Amma, a South Indian word for "goddess;" the whole word probably refers to Mariamma.

CONCLUSIONS

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§31. Analysis of a large collection of proper names has thus yielded a number of general tendencies. Men's names are in the majority of cases sib-names, based on names and kũsũm "sacred names" of all things connected with the patrilineal sib and especially with the gods or munds of the sib. In this the Todas join in principle with many other sib-organized communities, in which the individuals of each sib bear a name belonging to the sib, but they differ from other such communities in that while in most each individual uses the name of the sib and a personal name not closely connected with the sib, the Todas use only personal names, which are derived from the sib. Of the small residue of names not definitely connected with the sibs, a few are derived from religious entities not closely associated with any sib (e.g. ðingũwũn §18), and perhaps a larger number are derived from the names of gods of the Hindu pantheon, usually in consequence of a vow made by the man's parents (§17). A very few are derived from more miscellaneous sources (§§19, 20).

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§32. Women's names on the contrary have nothing to do with the sib with the exception of the one discussed in §24 and possibly others that I have not discovered." Some women's names are simple common nouns, often of non-Toda origin, many more are common nouns with a suffix, and the great majority are compounds of common nouns. Those names borrowed from English probably in many cases have a bizarre or perhaps even comic connotation, judging from the facial expressions of my informants when I recorded such names.

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* It may be noted that though women have no part in the religion of the dairy-complex and are a source of pollution to the complex in many circumstances, they are not debarred from using the kũsũm "sacred names" in composing songs. Here they are entirely on an equality with the men. It has been found too that the women have as good a knowledge of the details of the formation of men's names as the men; cf. §23.

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533 cessful. Miss Ling had expressed the hope that the converts might some day break into Christian song in their own tongue and especially that a Benedicite might be composed. It is obviously too much to hope for that there should be a completely new style of song evolved; all that one could reasonably expect would be either that on the basis of Tami-
lian music or, less likely, European music songs would be composed with Toda words, or that with practice the conventions of Toda singing could be extended to cover the Christian spirit and subject-matter. With a view to helping on the latter evolution (perhaps ethnologically unethical, but certainly justified if it would contribute to filling an evident gap in the life of the Christian Todas, and also interesting as an experiment to see how far the technique could be made by a clever composer to cover a previously untreated subject), I suggested to [kanfusoɔj], my interpreter and a man versed in the song-technique, that he should attempt a Benedicite. He without further prompting attempted composition in both the modes suggested above. His fairly literal translation, based on his Tamil Prayer-book and to be sung to the tune used in church, was hardly a success. But since he had sharpened his wits by this effort, there was a much more satisfactory result. At the end of a night when he had been sitting in his potato-field to prevent raids on his crops by wild pig and deer, as dawn broke he burst forth in a song. This he later dictated to me and it proved to be a remarkable blending of the Christian subject-matter and the imagery suggested by the Toda poetical technique. The song, when read in translation to westerners whose judgment in such matters I value highly, has been adjudged a highly poetical lyric. Certainly for poetic value it far surpasses most of the 300 Toda songs that I have recorded. Whether efforts on such a high level can be produced in greater number remains for some future investigator to discover.

551 I have shown elsewhere * that the personal names of Toda males are in almost all cases derived from the religion of the dairy-complex and more specifically from the complexes of the patrilineal sib in the case of each man, while the names of Toda females are more miscellaneous but
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[614] in many cases show an origin in the song-language. In all cases the
[533] Toda Christians who were proselytized from the tribe have retained their Toda names, usually as baptismal names, in spite of the definitely religious connotations in the case of male names. In addition they have all received Christian names, either English or Sanskrit-Tamil. When we come to the children born to the Christian community the case is different. There the Christian names are in the foreground of interest and are the only ones given at baptism. In most cases it seems that no

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* *Personal Names of the Todas*, *American Anthropologist*, N.S., 48, 306-323.

177 grants, both Indian and European, in the last century, and by
 233 the expansion of Badaga agricultural activity. Curtailment of
 423 the pasturage areas must have been appreciable even in the days
 when only the Badagas were agriculturalists in the hills. It is
 difficult to make out how serious a matter this had become by
 the beginning of the 19th century. Since then the matter has
 become serious indeed. First settlement by the English at Ootacamund, Coonoor, and Wellington necessitated purchase of land
 from the Todas. The sib of the unkitioj (Rivers' Pam; for
 details see p. 658) thus lost its chief village and of course the
 [614] pasture-lands there. So also the two sibs of the ka:qo: and melga:
 qo: lost a number of villages and the surrounding pastures where
 Ootacamund now stands, and the two villages from which these
 sibs take their names are now actually within the area of the
 municipality with restricted pastures. In other directions pastu-
 [311] rages have been alienated, either to the Badagas when they were
 vigorously extending their fields for the production of vegetables
 for the markets or to Europeans who bought land for tea-planta-
 tions or for other purposes, the most recent of which has been
 the construction of a dam on the Pykara river and an electric
 power line over the hills. Most frequently these sales involved
 land in the lower margins of the plateau, and the high downs to
 the west of Ootacamund where villages cluster most thickly have
 not been seriously affected. Alienation can take place only with
 the consent of Government and this is charily given if it vitally
 affects the Todas' best interests. It is of some importance also
 that the hunting of jackals with horses and bounds has been a
 favorite sport of the English in the Nilgiris and has influenced
 them in preserving the downs as open country. Two separate
 major alienations have taken place within the last fifty years. In
 one case the lands belonging to two associated dairies of the
 highest grade (the ti-dairies), one of the ka:qo: sib, the other of
 [197] the mōqo: sib, which had not been used for a number of years,
 were disposed of to the Church of England Zenana Mission for
 cultivation by the Toda Christian Colony. In the other case two
 pasturages of the ti: of the ka:qo: sib were sold to Government
 [614] and are now incorporated in a forest reserve; these were sold
 [684] when the sib of the ka:qo: were in need of a large sum of money
 to settle parkum's liability in the suicide of nōrnma. In general,

Toda culture thirty-five years after

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the dairy; this contrasts with the rule of the Kotas that the waistcloth must be discarded on going within the Kota temple areas. 291
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Other sociological phenomena need not be touched upon in detail; accounts that I have been given of various of them agree entirely with River's accounts. 114

Since Rivers' time one sib of the *to:baq* moiety has come near extinction, viz. the *ni:jo:f* found in Rivers' genealogical tables 40-43. The family in table 41 has been extinguished entirely by the death of its last male members. The only male member still surviving of the family in table 42 is a Christian, and this family is regarded as extinguished. In 40 and 43 each family is represented now by a male infant and a Christian male. It is unlikely that the three Christians originally of this sib will return to the tribe since they were very young when they became members of the Christian community. The sib must be carried on by the two infants and if they should survive and have sons, the organization of the sib into the divisions called *kumx* (pp. 542-4) will remain as it is now; otherwise, a new division will be necessary, as will in any case a new *poim* division (pp. 544-6), or the sib may be wholly extinguished. 114
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In the matter of religious institutions, I can again find no change, though my more intimate, linguistic approach enables me to place the emphasis in some cases at different points from those which Rivers stressed and to present an amplified and better balanced picture of the religious system as a whole than that of Rivers. I shall not here go into much detail, merely presenting a sketchy outline of the religious picture as my material yields it and touching on some points where Rivers thought that he could observe tendencies to change. 771
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The religion of the Todas is a highly ritualized buffalo-cult. Every important operation connected with the buffaloes is conducted according to rule, the milking and converting the milk successively into butter and ghee, giving salt to the buffaloes, taking them on migration to fresh pastures, burning over the pastures, giving a buffalo a name when it has calved for 771
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The dwelling houses form no part of the complex, and so there are tōunor without houses, as is preeminently the case with the highest grade of dairies, the ti. There may also be munda without dairies, and these are not tōunor. Some munda also which have dairies are not tōunor. They were founded in comparatively recent times because the herds tended at a tōunor became too large and new dairy accommodation had to be built. Their comparative lack of sanctity is indicated by the fragmentary nature of the prayers used at them and by the fact that a dairymen-priest may not be ordained for them but must be ordained for one of the tōunor of the sib and after serving there for a short time must go on to the less sacred place. This type of mund as well as those without dairies are known as maxmo, as opposed to the tōunor, which are utunmo "important or chief mund." In each case a tōunor is said to have been founded in the beginning by the tōunor associated with the sib, a maxmo to have been a human creation.

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When a tōunor is entirely abandoned and its dairy no longer used, the Todas may revive it after a period of as long as fifty years or even longer. This usually happens because the diviners so order it when misfortune has overtaken the sib or because a buffalo wanders to the abandoned site and the diviners interpret its actions as directed by the tōunor who wishes the people to cease their neglect. The Todas in their religious thinking have not found it necessary to speculate about the fate of a tōunor when a mund is never revived. Nor are they troubled by the question of the relationship between the sacred buffaloes of a sib and the various dairy-complexes at which they are tended. Each sib operates a number of complexes and the same buffaloes may be kept at any of them in turn.

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When Rivers said that each sib has a "ruling deity," he referred to the tōunor. The Toda phrase which he gave, nōdrochi, i. e. nōrochi, means "(the deity, i. e. the tōunor) ruled, or owned, the sacred place," or as one informant translated "used the mund." For each "chief mund" (utunmo or tōunor) was created, as we have said, by a tōunor who founded the dairy operations there and carried them on in the beginning.

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TODA MENSTRUATION PRACTICES*

By

M. B. EMENEAU, Yale University.

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121 The Todas of the Nilgiris in South India in the regulations governing women during menstruation are as peculiar as in many other of their institutions. In the account of their regulations which is presented in this paper this will be shown by reference to the regulations of the communities surrounding them.

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171 During this period Toda women are not secluded, as they are by the Kotas and Badagas of the Nilgiris and by most other communities of India. They remain in the one-room houses of the tribe and no restrictions are placed on their contacts with ordinary men. Sexual intercourse is forbidden, but other physical contacts are allowed. E.g. they may sit on the same seat as a man and may assist a man or be assisted by him in dressing the hair, bathing etc. Contact is always avoided even in the woman's normal state with a man of the same patrilineal sib or with a man of the same matrilineal line,¹ but during menstruation no further restrictions are imposed. They cook as usual; this again is in marked contrast with the practice of other communities of India. The taboo on sexual intercourse during a woman's menstrual period is apparently broken at times; no penalty is applied either to the man or to the woman if such breach is discovered. A man however who has had such intercourse may not become a dairyman-priest until after the next new moon.

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[462] The period involves however an even stricter seclusion from contact with the dairy-complex than is usually enjoined on the Toda women. The restriction on a man's becoming a priest after intercourse with a menstruating woman has just been mentioned. Normally women may drink buttermilk from the dairies, and it is the women's task to take receptacles to the line of stones marking off the houses, or profane part of the munda,² from the dairy and its grounds, in order that the priest may fill them with buttermilk. Both these practices are forbidden for menstruating women. Even during their

[122] * This paper was written during receipt of aid from the American Philosophical Society (Purrose Fund), to which I must acknowledge my gratitude.

[113] 1. See my paper "Toda marriage regulations and taboos" in *American Anthropologist* 39. 103-12.

2. A munda is any place where the Todas live or carry on tribal activities which are localized, e.g., funerals or dairy operations. In my paper "Toda culture thirty-five years after" in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. XIX, pp. 101-121, I have outlined the nature of the munda and have shown that those at which the people live are typically made up of two parts, a dairy-complex which is a god, and a profane part where the houses are.

normal period they must be careful not to touch the priest while he is exercising his priestly duties; e.g. when a woman takes the vessel to the line of sthnea, she sets it down on the ground and retreats a few paces and the priest avoids contact even with the profane vessel. Priests, however, are permitted to sleep in the profane part of the mund, the houses, on certain nights of the week, depending on the grade of dairy at which they officiate, and on these nights they may have intercourse with the women in the houses and no restriction is put upon their contact with the women.¹ A menstruating woman, however, must not stay in the house when a priest comes to sleep there. She is further debarred from touching any buffaloes, calves, or buffalo-pens, even those which she may touch at ordinary times, as e.g. non-sacred buffaloes which are being milked for the use of the houses. The restrictions which ward off women from the dairy-complex are at ordinary times stringent enough; these extra ones are designed to remove the last traces of contact during a woman's menstruation period.

The funeral huts used for men at all male funeral places are called by the word which denotes a dairy (poly). Some of the sibs in fact place the corpse of a man in a dairy which is used as such and in one or two other cases there are traditions that the funeral huts were originally dairies of certain grades.² A menstruating woman may not enter any funeral hut of a male to lament over the body. This is a slight further indication that all the funeral huts of males are regarded as dairies, as they are terminologically. The ne:lpoly, or hut which is built for the accommodation of the relics of a man between the first and second funerals, also has as part of its name the word for dairy. It is not however regarded as a dairy, nor is there any indication that it was a dairy at any stage of its development. But no menstruating woman may enter it. It is probable that this restriction has been made following upon the restriction on a menstruating woman's entering the funeral hut proper.

One mund, ku:u:ry of the sib called mō:t was according to tradition formerly a dairy-mund of the highest grade, a ti:-mund. A certain amount of its original sanctity still attaches to it, and in theory women do not live there any more than they do at ti:-munda. The inconvenience of this regulation is however overcome in practice by a fiction. Women live at the mund ku:u:ry but the marks of women's occupation are not allowed in the mund, i.e., the grain-pounder, the winnowing-basket, and the broom must be kept outside the mund and never brought to the houses. All household duties involving these articles must be performed outside of the munda. Likewise, no menstruating woman may stay in the mund; she must go outside and stay away for three days. At ordinary times she may be in the mund by a fiction, but when she is really and unequivocally a woman, the fiction will not avail to preserve the sanction of this mund.

1. See Rivens, *The Todas*, pp. 62 (towards the bottom), 67 (bottom), 72 (towards the bottom), 78 (middle).

2. Rivens, pp. 330-41.

LANGUAGE AND SOCIAL FORMS: A STUDY OF TODA KINSHIP TERMS AND DUAL DESCENT

By M. B. EMENEAU

121 **T**HAT THE DATA obtained by linguistic investigation of any community is of indispensable value for the ethnographer studying that community has long been axiomatic for the anthropological school of which Sapir was a brilliant member. His statement of the point in *The Status of Linguistics as a Science* deserves to be quoted:

Language is becoming increasingly valuable as a guide to the scientific study of a given culture. In a sense, the network of cultural patterns of a civilization is indexed in the language which expresses that civilization. It is an illusion to think that we can understand the significant outlines of a culture through sheer observation and without the guide of the linguistic symbolism which makes these outlines significant and intelligible to society. Some day the attempt to master a primitive culture without the help of the language of its society will seem as amateurish as the labors of a historian who cannot handle the original documents of the civilization which he is describing.¹

To go a little further and say that the culminating item of value that the linguistic student can give to ethnology is the study of a community's most highly verbalized cultural manifestations would be what Sapir would and undoubtedly did hold. It is here, in their verbal art-forms, stories, songs, oratory, or the like, that the members of the culture give the most overt and self-conscious expression to the patterns which they follow or profess to follow in their life. Linguistic study, if it is confined to its primary object of recording and analyzing the forms of utterances and never goes beyond that, can offer little to ethnology. It must, with that analysis as a basis, go on to a strict philological analysis of well-recorded and fully guaranteed texts in the forms most highly esteemed by the culture, and the results of such study should provide then "the linguistic symbolism which makes these outlines [of a culture gained through sheer observation] significant and intelligible."

121 The following study presents the kinship system of the Todas of the Nilgiris in South India. In a previous paper on *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos*, the existence was reported 128 of a complete division of the Todas into matrilineal sibs alongside of the previously known complete division into patrilineal sibs. In this paper I present, following on the 614 kinship system, the material on the functions of the two sib-systems as against one another. In 114 these sections an attempt has been made to use the evidence provided by the Toda art-form of highest prestige, the songs. Discussion based on this evidence is found on pp. 160-161 on the use of "friend" terms beside kinship terms, on p. 165 on the special kinship term used by a woman for the wife of her husband's brother by the same father, and throughout the Appendix, which presents the kinship terms; and again on pp. 169-172, where the data on the

¹ Edward Sapir, *The Status of Linguistics as a Science* (Language, Vol. 9, pp. 207-24, 1933), p. 209.

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emotional attitude of the Todas towards their matrilineal sib-system is presented. It is thought that in this use of song material the "amateurish" methodology against which Sapir protested has been avoided, and some light has been thrown upon Toda institutions in a way which he would have approved. The study ends with some discussion of the bearing of the Todas' dual descent system on the historical question of their "origin," which has engaged the attention of most of those who have studied them.

Rivers' account of the kinship system of the Todas is essentially correct.³ Linguistic research with this tribe has added little but detail to our knowledge of this department of the tribal institutions, except in the important matter of dual descent, which escaped Rivers' meticulous investigations.⁴ In this paper I shall present the kinship terms in correct linguistic shape, and shall make the few factual corrections that are necessary. The main body of the paper will be devoted to a discussion of the dual descent system.

The most important factual correction in Rivers' account relates to the age distinctions made in the kinship system. He records three age-groups in 200's generation based on age relative to that of 200.⁵ In fact, the system makes only two distinctions. There is a dichotomy on the basis of age relative to 200. An elder brother or male parallel cousin in either patrilineal or matrilineal sib or outside them (son of 200's mother's clan-sister) is *on* in reference, *oɔn* in address; an elder sister or female parallel cousin related in the same ways is *okn* in reference, *okn* in address. A younger sibling or parallel cousin related in the same ways, without distinction of sex, is *ɔur*-fed in reference, with the appropriate pronominal form preceding, and *enda* in address. *En-ɔur*-fed is "my younger sibling," literally "one who was born with, or after, me;" *num-ɔur*-fed "your younger sibling," *an-ɔur*-fed (or *an-don-ɔur*-fed) "his or her younger sibling," *om-ɔur*-fed "our (inclusive) younger sibling," *em-ɔur*-fed "our (exclusive) younger sibling," *num-ɔur*-fed "your (plural) younger sibling;" "their younger sibling" is the same as "his or her" or *oɔn* in *ɔur*-fed. If the sex of the person referred to must be indicated, *mox* added to any of the forms signifies a male, *xuix* (= *kuix*) a female.⁶

³ W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), pp. 483-501 for the kinship terms. The volume is referred to in this paper as Rivers. In mentioning members of the tribe by name a number is frequently added in brackets after the name; this refers to the corresponding genealogical table in Rivers.

⁴ See M. B. Emeneau, *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos* (*American Anthropologist*, Vol. 59, pp. 103-11, 1957) for a detailed account of the matrilineal sibs which are found within the moieties and cut across the well-known division into patrilineal sibs. In the present paper I employ the same system of phonemic writing that was used in that paper, with the corrections made in my later paper *Personal Names of the Todas* (*American Anthropologist*, Vol. 60, pp. 207-23, 1958), p. 207 fn. 1. In this paper I use *ɔ* for palatalized alveolar sibilants, *c*, *ç* for post-dental sibilants and *ç*, *ç* for palatalized post-dental sibilants; *u* is a high, back, unrounded vowel. Acknowledgments are due again to the American Council of Learned Societies for aid in my field-work in 1955-56 and to the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) for aid in 1956-58.

⁵ Pp. 486 bottom, 487, and *passim*.

⁶ Rivers, p. 487, said: "I do not know whether the children of two women of the same generation in [a patrilineal sib] would call one another brother and sister." The terms are extended to all children of women whom 200 would refer to as mother, whether they are in his patrilineal or matrilineal sib, or outside them. The term

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not his wife, by the same terms that he uses for his wife; similarly, when *soo* is female, she addresses a male cross-cousin, even if he is not her husband, by the same term that she uses for her husband. 601

Affines are referred to collectively as *pojoif*; the same term includes also female affines. When the term refers to an individual, it may denote either male or female.

There is a special reference term for the wife of one's son (own son or the son of one's own brother), if she is not one's sister's daughter, viz. *moit-fij* (*moit-* as in *moit-mox* = "son's"; *-fij* [i.e. *pij*]) is not otherwise found).

There is a special reference term used by a woman for the wife of her husband's brother by the same father (or fathers in a polyandrous marriage), viz. *tiwxitj*. It may also be used of the woman in reference to this type of relationship. In address these women use to one another "sister" terms. The word is frequently combined with *optafn* (cf. p. 163 above) in songs. When a woman laments her husband's death, if her husband had several brothers each married to a separate wife, she may sing:

<i>oir-optafn</i>	<i>oijwθuk</i>
<i>oir-tiwxitj</i>	<i>kuswθsuk</i> (or, <i>ustjwθsuk</i>)

"You (plural) were six (= an indefinite number) sons of one father: you (plural) made (or, caused to sit) six sisters-in-law (wives of brothers)." This may also be said in the words shouted during the dancing at a man's funeral.¹⁹ When a man laments his brother, if he had several brothers each of whom had a separate wife, he may sing:

<i>oir-optafn</i>	<i>oijwθuk</i>
<i>oir-tiwxitj</i>	<i>oijwθuk</i>

"We (inclusive) were six (= an indefinite number) sons of one father: we (inclusive) were (having) six wives." When a man laments his wife under the same circumstances, he may sing:

<i>oir-optafn</i>	<i>oijθemum</i>
<i>oir-tiwxitj</i>	<i>oijθiun</i>

"We (exclusive) were six (= an indefinite number) sons of one father: you were one of six wives of the brothers."

The system is essentially classificatory, as is shown especially by the terms of address. It is used in this way by the Todas. Each member of a person's patrilineal sib is addressed by the appropriate classificatory vocative. It will be remembered from Rivers' treatment²⁰ that the classification is made even when the various families of a sib are unrelated so far as the Todas' genealogical knowledge goes; the correlation of generations is handed down by adaptation and frequent use, and even when the links of a pedigree have been lost to memory, the correct terminology based on the lost pedigree is maintained. Each male and female born to the sib is addressed with the appropriate term by every other member of the sib, and the persons related by marriage to and descent from the sib members are also addressed with 601
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¹⁹ See *The Songs of the Todas*, pp. 176-77.

²⁰ Pp. 490-92.

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the appropriate terms. Similarly, the members of a matrilineal sib use the appropriate terms to one another, assigning the appropriate terms between any two individuals in the same way that it is done within the patrilineal sib, even when knowledge of the pedigree has been lost. An example may be given of the usage between members of matrilineal sibs. Tisjom, son of tæiŋdũwɪr of the nɔɪs patrilineal sib (Teigudr, 4) and his wife uɪwɪr (Uwer), is related to kɔŋfʊsɔdʒ of the kɔɪs patrilineal sib (Kunpuradi, 14) as nephew to maternal uncle, addresses him with the vocative mumaɪ, and is addressed as enaɪ. Kɔŋfʊsɔdʒ addresses uɪwɪr as elder sister (okɔɪ), since his mother addressed her as daughter (enaɪ); they are members of the same matrilineal sib but the pedigree is not known to the Todas.

Within each moiety of the tribe, the Todas may be related, when they are related, as members of the same patrilineal sib, as members of the same matrilineal sib, or by marriage. Frequently, between the same two individuals there is not only one relationship, but two or even three. The question arises as to which relationship takes precedence in determining the use of kinship terms. When this matter was investigated, it was found that the informants were quite articulate on the subject and gave an answer in general terms. Relationship within a matrilineal sib overrides any other relationship; of the other two, relationship by marriage overrides relationship within a patrilineal sib. Relationship by marriage may involve two marriage links, i.e. it is necessary for a Toda to address with the correct terms his wife's relations by another marriage in her family. If the wife has a choice of terminology for any of her relations by marriage, once she has determined the correct term, her husband adopts an appropriate term on the basis of his wife's usage, provided that he is not himself related to the person involved as co-member of a matrilineal sib, this relationship overriding all others. This statement also applies *mutatis mutandis* between a woman and her relations by marriage. The general statement given by the informants is borne out by usage. A few examples will suffice.

Kæɪnɔʒ (Keinodz, 21) calls tɔtɔdʊxɪn (Teitukhen, 23) father (ejaɪ) since they are members of the same patrilineal sib and related thus by generations. He should then by this relationship call the latter's son moɪrɔnɔɪs younger brother (endaɪ). But nɔfɔb (Navob), mother of moɪrɔnɔɪs, calls kæɪnɔʒ elder brother (ɔpɔɪ) by an untraceable relationship within a matrilineal sib. Consequently, moɪrɔnɔɪs calls kæɪnɔʒ maternal uncle (mumaɪ).

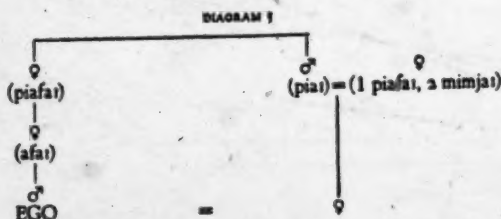
Kɔŋfʊsɔdʒ (Kunpuradi, 14) and pɔnɔʒ (Punog, 14) are brothers' sons within the same family, and the former should call the latter elder brother (ɔpɔɪ). But kɔŋfʊsɔdʒ's mother pɪʃʃɔdʒɪʃ (Pathudveli) called pɔnɔʒ's mother kɔpɪʒɪʃɪʃ (Kupizveli) grandmother (pɪʃɔɪ) by an untraceable relationship within a matrilineal sib. Hence kɔŋfʊsɔdʒ calls pɔnɔʒ grandfather (pɔɪɪ).

Kalɟɪnɔɪs (Kalgeneɪ, 19) is by relationship in the same patrilineal sib elder brother to kɔŋfʊsɔdʒ. The former's son tɔwɪrɔdʒ should then be called by kɔŋfʊsɔdʒ son (enaɪ). But the mother of tɔwɪrɔdʒ, kɔɪɪɪ (Kuzil, 27), is by an untraceable relationship within a matrilineal sib grandmother to kɔŋfʊsɔdʒ, i.e. mother to his mother. Hence he calls her son maternal uncle (mumaɪ).

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Piɔɔɔɔɔ (Pūdenir, 21) is by relationship within a patrilineal sib grandson to pəntus (Paners, 23). By an untraceable relationship in a matrilineal sib the latter is maternal uncle to the former and is called by him muməɪ. The wives of these men were sinmir (Sinmir) married to piɔɔɔɔɔ, and pəɔɔɔɔɔ (Pəɔɔɔɔɔ) married to pəntus. If the men's relationship within a patrilineal sib had determined the terminology, sinmir would have called pəɔɔɔɔɔ grandmother (piəfəɪ). Since this relationship was overridden for the men, it was overridden for their wives also; following the terms used by the men, sinmir should have called pəɔɔɔɔɔ mimjəɪ (here indicating husband's maternal uncle's wife). Actually, sinmir's mother oəfəɪ (Achaveli, 43) was sister to pəɔɔɔɔɔ, both being daughters of the same mother pəmbuɪ. Consequently, by this relationship in a matrilineal sib, sinmir called pəɔɔɔɔɔ mother (əfəɪ).



In a hypothetical case, a man married the daughter of his mother's mother's brother. Previous to the marriage he called this man grandfather (piəɪ) because of relationship within the same matrilineal sib; after the marriage he retained the term, this relationship overriding in terminology the new relationship of father-in-law (muməɪ). The older man's wife was called, prior to the marriage, grandmother (piəfəɪ), even if she had been of the same patrilineal sib as the younger man (affinal relationship overriding relationship in the same patrilineal sib). After the marriage she is called by the younger man mother-in-law (mimjəɪ) even if she had been of the same patrilineal sib. In this case one relationship by marriage has preference over another, apparently the nearer marriage overriding the more distant. Unfortunately, this matter was not investigated further.

One of the functions of the matrilineal sibs has appeared in this discussion of the kinship terminology. The primary function was shown in a previous paper³⁴ to be that of regulating marriage; no Toda may marry a person who is a co-member of a matrilineal sib. In another cultural context matrilineal sibs are of importance. This is in the matter of mourning for a dead person. This in general was treated by Rivers;³⁵ an account of the rules regulating

³⁴ *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos*.

³⁵ Pp. 367-71. One slight correction should be made in his account of the manner of wearing the hair (p. 369). Rivers there says that the hair must be tied in a knot in front. The real rule is that the hair must not be cut during the period of pollution. It grows long and is usually tied up in a knot in front so that it will not obscure the sight.

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535 dancing will add somewhat to the treatment. Dancing takes place at weddings¹⁶ and at such
 614 religious ceremonies as the giving of salt to the buffaloes (up-otjt), the rethatching of a dairy
 765 (poj-ful-fæ-ist), and the prayer-ceremony at a chief mund¹⁷ (mod-fortjt), as well as at such
 [648] unusual social occasions as the reception of an important European visitor, the celebration
 [616] under the patronage of the Governor of Madras by all the inhabitants of the Nilgiris of a
 Jubilee in the British royal family, large Badaga ceremonies which many Todas attend, etc.
 At such dances men from both moieties participate in the same dance. Men who may not
 dance are those who are mourning a death. (a) If the first funeral has not yet taken place,
 dancing is prohibited to those who are mourning the death of a man of the same patrilineal
 sib, of the same matrilineal sib, or of one who is called pojoi/, i.e., wife's father or brother,
 wife's father's brother, and conversely, daughter's husband, sister's husband, brother's
 daughter's husband (cf. p. 165). If the dead person is a woman, the prohibition affects, besides
 members of her matrilineal sib and her pojoi/, only those members of her father's patrilineal
 sib who belong to her immediate family. (b) If the first funeral shall have been performed, no one may dance who is
 related to the dead person by relationship within the matrilineal sib, by the closest relation-
 ship within the patrilineal sib, i.e. by membership in the immediate family of the dead per-
 son, or by pojoi/ relationship as in (a). In both (a) and (b), when a man is dead, dancing is
 [616] prohibited for the husband and sons of the woman in the opposite moiety with whom he
 [837] has had sexual relations of the "lover-mistress" type:¹⁸ when a woman is dead, dancing is
 prohibited for the man in the opposite moiety with whom she has had "lover-mistress"
 relations, and for his sons.

535 Dancing also takes place at funerals, whether first or second. Normally only men are
 614 allowed to dance who belong to the other moiety than the one to which the dead person
 616 belonged. Here again the prohibitions indicated in the preceding paragraph hold with regard
 764 to people in the "lover-mistress" relationship to the dead person. And, of course, no person
 765 may dance who is mourning any other death. The rule permitting only men of the opposite
 [837] moiety to dance is sometimes broken. At the funeral of some relatively unimportant person
 there may not be enough men of the opposite moiety present to dance, or at the funeral of
 a member of the unkitj, nirj, and purgoir sibs of the toirbas moiety, since the munda of
 these sibs are far from any munda of the tööfij moiety. In this case members of the same
 moiety as the dead person will be permitted to dance, but no one who is mourning the dead

[843] ¹⁶ There is no dancing at the ceremony when a man gives the toy bow and arrow to his wife during her
 [851] pregnancy to legitimise the child (pau-mt). At a ceremony of this kind which I attended with Mr C. P. Skrine,
 Agent of the Madras States and author of *Chinese Central Asia* (London, 1936), the men danced so that he should
 be able to see how it is done. The words composed during the dance were about myself and the ceremony was
 mentioned only as one in a list of ceremonies that I had seen.

[62] ¹⁷ A mund (Toda word mod) is, throughout this paper, a dairy institution plus a dwelling place. The signif-
 cance of "chief mund" (ut-limj-mod) as opposed to other munda (miz-mod) has been explained in my paper *Toda
 Culture Thirty-five Years After* (Annals, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. 19, pp. 101-31, 1938), pp.
 113-19. ¹⁸ See reference in note 9 above.

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person because of relationship in the same matrilineal sib, in the same patrilineal sib, or by pojoi/ relationship may be permitted to dance.¹⁹ Or, it may happen that, although there are enough members of the proper moiety to dance, there is no one present of the proper moiety who knows how to compose dance-words.²⁰ In this case if a composer of the moiety of the dead person is present, he may be permitted to dance and compose words. It may happen that all the composers of both moieties will be prevented from dancing by the mourning rules; in this case one of them will be allowed to dance and compose words.

It will be seen from the manner in which the rules are relaxed between situations (a) and (b) for a man, and within the situation (a) as between a man and a woman, that no one may ever dance who is related by co-membership in the same matrilineal sib to any dead person, either of whose funerals is outstanding. In both cases however when the rules are relaxed, i.e. when a man's second funeral only is outstanding and when a woman's first or second funeral is outstanding, the only co-members of the patrilineal sib who are forbidden to dance are those within the immediate family. We may conclude from these rules and from the universally overriding force of relationship within the same matrilineal sib in the application of kinship terms, that in these social spheres the matrilineal sib has greater importance than the patrilineal.²¹ Rivers' description has of course made clear the overwhelming importance of the patrilineal sibs in the economic, religious, and social spheres. A man belongs to the patrilineal sib of his father and inherits his property and all his ownership rights and duties in the sacred herds of buffaloes, the dairies at which they are tended, the pastures, etc. This is the pivot of Toda life and in it the matrilineal sibs do not figure at all. In the matter of marriage patrilineal and matrilineal sibs are of equal value; no Toda may marry a person belonging to his own sib of either type. In the matters treated in this paper, however, though both types of sib play a part, the matrilineal sib relationship has greater weight than the other.

A hint of the attitude of a Toda towards the members of his matrilineal sib is provided by the words of the songs. The attitude is identified by the work noiikj which was translated as "shame," and refers to the sensation of shrinking felt when one is confronted with an embarrassing situation. We shall first examine a prose account of the expedition of kajnitir (Kainir, 3) to the points of interest on the path over the hills followed by the dead on their way to the afterworld. His daughter orliiz had married piikor (Pikodr, 16) of the mōir patrilineal sib, whose mund pan is very near the point where the path starts southward into the Kundah hills. She assured her father of the interest that such an expedition would have and he with several companions made it successfully. One of the points is

¹⁹ A person who cannot dance on any occasion because of mourning is called hōt(ō)-hōtpoi/ "person who is waiting for a funeral."

²⁰ See reference in note 13 above.

²¹ Another place where relationship in the matrilineal sib counts is in the salutations performed at various ceremonies, as e.g., at the pui-sut/ or bow-giving ceremony. There the wife salutes all the male and female members of her father's patrilineal sib and her own matrilineal sib, and those of her husband's patrilineal sib who are older than herself. Likewise the husband salutes all the male and female members of his patrilineal sib, his matrilineal sib, and his wife's patrilineal sib without respect to relative ages. So correct Rivers, p. 320.

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 pormuxur,²² a swamp reached shortly after the path is entered. When kujinir asked what it was he was told: il-*lon-wji* puirotj-noij yst "It is just here that the puirotj-noij [a tiger that looks like a dog] chases people." The text proceeds: 'æid' uad fintjn. 'pojoi/-xuirfojoi/ ßund-mork-fæidfoj-xuirfojoi/ puirotj-noij ysti; pojoi/ noimjti; oioi/ xæsti' wadng. "He asked: 'Why?' They said: 'The puirotj-noij chases a man who has had sexual intercourse with one of his matrilineal sib, or who has had sexual intercourse with one of his patrilineal sib; his pojoi/ feel shame; the oioi/ laugh.'" The word pojoi/ was said to mean his relations, and the word oioi/ those not related to him. The latter word is quite obscure, is never used except in songs and in this passage quoted, and only the use in this passage as explained by the narrator gives any clue to its meaning. If pojoi/ means all relations, and not merely members of the same matrilineal sib, it is the only place, where its meaning can be determined, in which it has such an extended meaning. It is very possible that the two phrases used here are derived from the song-language; the use of oioi/, otherwise only a song-word, is rather good evidence that this is so. Such use of song-phrases in the telling of stories would not be unusual. If so, we need not force pojoi/ into the extended meaning required in the story. It refers literally to members of the matrilineal sib only, but by the implications of the context to members of the patrilineal sib as well.

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 If we now examine the cases where pojoi/ occurs in the songs, we find that it is in all but one case joined with the word noiikj (cf. the verb noimjti "are ashamed" in the prose above). In one case three sons of a man of the toiroir patrilineal sib wanted to make a two-day funeral for their father, and their sib approved and joined in making preparations. These included getting a permit from the Government authorities to slaughter more than the normally permitted two buffaloes. One important man of the koiis patrilineal sib was overlooked in the distribution of gratuities and from spite blocked the issue of the permit. In her lament for her husband, the widow says:

pulkûwûr	pojoi/-noiikj	oijxûwûn
pæ:ûr	oioi/-noir	oijxûwûn
	noidoi/-k-noiikj	oijxûwûn
	simjoi/-k-sig	oijxûwûn

"The toiroir patrilineal sib became ashamed before the pojoi/, the oioi/, the people of the country (noidoi/), the people of the district (simjoi/; district = country)." It is apparent here that the pojoi/ and the oioi/ together make up the Todas, and that the shame is that of one patrilineal sib when thwarted in an honorable undertaking by another. The words pojoi/ and oioi/ have no real pertinence in this context; they are the conventional words in song-language when speaking of shame.

²² One account given to me placed this near the beginning of the path, another (perhaps the more trustworthy) where it is placed in Rivers' account of the path (Padmakhair: pp. 398-400); his account is in general incomplete.

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In another passage a man carried off the wife of another man, but she was recovered by her husband with the help of other men, and the abductor says:

pojo i/-no iikj	æ ifunen
oito i/-fopt	æ ifunen
no iro i/-no iikj	æ ifunen
siimjo i/-sig	æ ifunen

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"I have become ashamed before the pojo i/-; I have become a word [i.e. a subject for ridicule] before the oito i/-; I have become ashamed before the people of the country, I have become ashamed before the people of the district." Here again, though the use of pont "word" with oito i/- seems to suggest a dichotomy of the tribe similar to that in the prose passage above, so that the man's pojo i/- would be ashamed along with him, the two final sentences imply an interpretation like that of the passage just discussed. The pojo i/- and the oito i/- together are the Todas before whom he is ashamed, and are of no pertinence here except in their conventional connection with feelings of shame.

In two other passages we seem at first sight to get nearer to literal meanings. A woman laments her daughter, who died an untimely death before she had borne children. She says:

pojo i/-k-no iikj	æ ifunen
oito i/-fopt	æ ifunen

"I have become ashamed before the pojo i/-; I have become a subject for ridicule before the oito i/-." It was explained that the lamenting woman now has no daughter and is considered unlucky by the people. This explanation need imply no more than that all the people, indicated with no special pertinence by pojo i/- and oito i/-, think her unlucky and that she has feelings of shame before them on this account. Dare we read in the interpretation that the woman and her daughter belonged to one matrilineal sib and their branch of it is now going to fail, so that the woman feels shame before her matrilineal sib on that account? The Todas certainly seem not to interpret in this way.

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Again, a woman bore a daughter to her husband, but no sons. He began negotiations to divorce her and take another wife. In despair she sings, with her child in her arms:

pojo i/-no iikj	æ ifunum
oito i/-fopt	æ ifunum

"We have become ashamed before the pojo i/-, we have become a subject for ridicule before the oito i/-." Previously she has said that her father is to be told that the girl child was rejected as an unsuitable offspring and she, the wife, as an unsuitable wife, and all the Todas (by furthering the divorce) have come to be against her. So their treatment has caused them shame before all the Todas. Again, pojo i/- and oito i/- seem to have no pertinence except as referring to the whole tribe conventionally when shame is to be spoken of. And again we feel that the pojo i/- relation between mother and daughter is perhaps in point, though the Todas do not make such an interpretation and the context is decidedly against it.

The remaining passage in a song about my investigations is as follows:

nolkonwuk	sydj-mil-sydj	puwuk		
pojoi/xorjm	oioi/foit	öštjwdo:	uawuk	
om arjen	enk öštö	sotj-moiqkin	uawuwug	noirrwuswan

"You sent message after message to the mund omgois. You said: 'Tell me without fail the nature of the pojoi.' Noirrwus (Nödrners, 67) said: 'I do not know; I was not told; I swear an oath.'" The pair pojoi, oioi is used as demanded by convention, as is also pont "word," but to fit the pertinent word pojoi (which I was enquiring about) into the context, the conventional noiikj was replaced by korjm,²⁴ primarily "ceremony, ritual detail," here "details in general, nature." The song-phrases have been violently torn from their usual contexts and oioi/foit, necessary by convention, is here quite meaningless. (Incidentally, noirrwus was the only Toda who ever refused information about matters that he certainly knew thoroughly.) The relationship within a matrilineal sib is essentially surrounded by shame, embarrassment (noiikj), and should not be talked about to outsiders. This was undoubtedly Rivers' experience, and so his failure to find out about the matrilineal sibs, even though he got the word pojoi, is to be explained.

On the whole, then, examination of the song-passages where matrilineal sibs are mentioned convinces me that the key-passage to an understanding of the conventional song-pair pojoi, oioi did not turn up in the many texts that I recorded. This was my frequent experience in recording songs and interpreting the song-language. In many cases a pair can have originated in one context only and was then transferred, sometimes violently, to other contexts where it did not quite fit. If it did not fit but was used only in an allusive manner, it was usually impossible to get at a literal meaning. Occasionally the original context would be found in a song only after dozens of instances had occurred in which the words were badly fitted. In the case of the phrase under discussion the original context has not turned up. We may suspect that an account in a song of the path of the dead might contain the key-passage, and yet such accounts occur in the material to the number of half a dozen, none containing the desired passage. Moreover, as has been seen above in the discussion of the prose passage, the pair pojoi, oioi may have been imported into it from the songs and certainly is not a good fit in its context.

It is clear however from the song-passages, the prose passage, and the refusal of noirrwus to give information that the essential element in the attitude of the Todas to the matrilineal sibs is one of shame and embarrassment. And yet we are not much further in our understanding of the psychology of the matter. The best guess on the reason for the difference of attitude towards the patrilineal sibs and the matrilineal sibs is that, while incestuous relations are forbidden within both types of sibs, the latter, as the one containing one's mother and sisters, is the one where incest comes closest home. In Toda culture the crucial relations are part of a larger division which is worked intimately into the entire social structure of the

²⁴ This word is borrowed ultimately from Sanskrit karyo.

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tribe, and probably the shame feeling towards mother and sisters has been extended from these few relationships through the whole matrilineal sib, and then from the single sib as such to the entire matrilineal sib structure.

Where an attitude of disapproval is strongly verbalized, as is that of the Todas towards incestuous sexual intercourse, we may expect to find that there are infractions of the rules. Certainly this is the case with this rule among the Todas. As a tribe, they are vigorously and adventurously sexual, as might be expected from the number of socialized channels provided for sexual activity. Ordinary marriage within the moiety and the freedom allowed in changing mates, and the *toitjofj* ("lover-mistress") institution providing for sexual unions overstepping the boundary between the moieties²⁴ give evidence of a high degree of sexual activity. But these do not exhaust the possibilities. There are many more irregular liaisons, not provided for by overt institutions, and indeed punishable by fines if discovered, but well attested in the verbal content of the songs. In none of the songs did I find any evidence that the restrictions on incestuous intercourse were infringed. But chance allusions by my informants and interpreters provided sufficient evidence that sexual adventuresomeness extended to such relations, and one case was specifically alluded to. It is rumored that *airjir* (*Siriar*, 20) at one time had sexual intercourse occasionally with his sister *egog* (*Edjog*). Such relations, if they were discovered, would be punished by a heavy fine, and there is of course also a deterrent in the fear that misfortune to the people involved or to their buffaloes would follow such offences as evidence of the anger of the gods. This deterring pattern, though strong enough elsewhere in the culture, tends to yield when it conflicts with the pattern of sexual adventuresomeness. The impression gained is that cases of incest, as defined by Toda patterns, are frequent enough.

While the origin of the structure of matrilineal sibs among the Todas cannot with much profit be discussed without reference to the origin of the whole Toda culture, it seems that something should be attempted. We are not likely ever to reach certainty on the larger question. The Todas were already in the Nilgiris in A.D. 1117,²⁵ and for how long before is anybody's guess. Certainly their traditions give no help in the matter, since they claim to have been created in the Nilgiris along with the Kotas and Kurumbas. But, since they

²⁴ An interesting point arises in the case of a woman's child, whose biological father is the woman's *toitjofj*. It is well known that there are many such children but no socialized attention is paid to the biological fact. It is, however, felt to be disgraceful if such a child should resemble facially its biological father. *Moknir* (*Makner*), wife of *talkitj* of the non-patrilateral sib (*Tuskeidi*, 3), had six children, all born during her husband's lifetime. The eldest of these, *töörum* (*Tevö*), looked like his mother's *toitjofj*, *nobus* of the *pitjotj* patrilineal sib (*Nabun*, 64), also called *kutj* (he reared the children after *talkitj* died). In a quarrel *töörum* might be abused (it is very insulting abuse) as: *nobus-mox* "son of nobus" or *kutj-mox* "son of kutj," or as *nobus* or *kutj*.

²⁵ B. Lewis Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica* (Bangalore, 1895), Vol. 4, inscription 83, in Chamarajnagar Taluk of Mysore State. The inscription, in the Kannada language and mostly in verse, describes the campaigns of a general, Pundar Dasaditya, of the Hoysala king Vissuvardhana (*Bittiga Hoysala Devaru*). This general invaded the Nilgiris and "trigged the Toda" (the singular probably because of metrical requirements). No other Nilgiri tribes are mentioned, and the item occurring in a list of communities in the Coimbatore and Salem districts, Coimbatore, and Malabar, gives no ethnological information. The date is quite certain.

174 speak a Dravidian language, closely allied with Kannada and Tamil, and more closely, as I
 • 614 judge provisionally, with Kannada, it seems profitable to look to a generalized South Indian
 [197] background as a basis for the highly specialized and aberrant Toda culture forms. We find
 at once that the generalized South Indian culture background includes exogamous patrilineal
 sibs with marriage forbidden also within the matrilineal line to degrees that vary from com-
 munity to community.²⁰ There is no record of fully developed exogamous matrilineal sibs
 in the large area until we reach the Malabar region on the southwest coast of India. There
 we find in some caste-communities matrilineal descent to the exclusion of patrilineal. Rivers
 [114] was inclined on a number of grounds to uphold the hypothesis that the Todas in very early
 times migrated to the Nilgiris from Malabar.²¹ Practically all of his pieces of evidence prove
 invalid.

197 It was a wild guess that the Toda language is closely related to Malayalam, and the fact
 174 that some of the diviners of the Todas undoubtedly do speak a very fragmentary Malayalam
 791 during their performances is irrelevant. The diviners speak the language of the god by whom
 [787] they are possessed; the god who inspires most of the Toda diviners has his temple in the
 Wynad among a Malayalam-speaking population. It was suggested²² that the model house
 or dairy used in the ur-fot ceremony, and called poi-loj (Rivers' pūlpali), has some con-
 nection with the tamarind juice used in a Nair ceremony. Linguistically this is impossible;
 the Toda word for tamarind (pyfi) has no possible connection.

174 Toda polyandry was connected with the various types of polyandry formerly, and in
 595 some castes still, practised in Malabar. Much more investigation is needed in Malabar be-
 [114] fore comparison can be made safely between the institutions. It has been the experience of
 ethnologists in India that no summary accounts of communities hitherto published can be
 trusted. Even the best of them, such as the various *Castes and Tribes* volumes, are highly
 untrustworthy. Since in Malabar, polyandry is combined with matrilineal descent, the situa-
 tion is undoubtedly oriented differently from that of the Todas, and a study of the total
 configuration in Malabar castes should be made before comparisons are entered upon. Fur-
 [171] thermore, Toda polyandry needs to be reexamined in the light of the fact that the Kotas
 of the Nilgiris have been found to practise a special type of fraternal polyandry.²³

174 The totifoj or "lover-mistress" institution (Rivers' mokhthoditi) is on the whole so
 837 unlike the marriages between the younger sons of Nambutiri Brahmans and Nair women
 that use of the superficial and strained resemblance is highly unprofitable.

²⁰ I base this statement partly on the literature (not all the pertinent facts are to be found there), partly
 on my own investigations (which were thorough among the Coorgs, an account of whose regulations will be
 found in my paper *Kinship and Marriage among the Coorgs* [Journal, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters,
 Vol. 4, pp. 125-47, 1938]; sketchy enquiries were made on several other communities). The point, I think, is of
 more fundamental importance for the understanding of South Indian ethnology than that about cross-cousin
 [114] marriage, which Rivers treated in *The Marriages of Cousins in India* (Journal, Royal Asiatic Society, pp. 611-40,
 1907).

²¹ Pp. 693-718, especially pp. 698 ff.

²² Rivers, p. 701.

²³ D. G. Mandelbaum, *Polyandry in Kosa Society* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 40, pp. 174-83, 1938).

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The giving of cloths in various Toda ceremonies was compared with cloth-giving ceremonies in Malabar. It will be found, however, as Rivers recognised,²⁰ that giving of cloths, both in marriage ceremonies and otherwise, is very general throughout India. No stress should be laid on this detail until and unless further investigations of other Indian communities warrant it. So also with the breaking of pots at funerals; it is not confined to the Todas and the Malabar coast. 174
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The use of poles and bones at funerals, of cowries, and of leaf-umbrellas, all of these being obtained from Malabar, is hardly more than the use of trade-objects, and is probably to be regarded as an example of diffusion of comparatively unessential material objects. The place of origin does not matter in the case of the cowries and the umbrellas; they have now been replaced by glass beads and European-type umbrellas respectively. It is doubtful whether the place of origin has any significance in the case of the other objects. 174
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The Toda munda at Gudalur are well known in tradition as recent foundations; they have now been abandoned. The origin of some sacred buffaloes in the Wynaad, i.e. the same general area between the Nilgiris and Malabar, is paralleled by the origin of other sacred buffaloes on the Coimbatore, i.e. the Tamilian, plains on the other side of the Nilgiris. 361
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It is evident then that the Malabar origin for the Todas and their customs favored by Rivers is untenable.²¹ The Toda matrilineal sibs, which were unknown to Rivers, could have been used by him to bolster up his hypothesis, but it would have proved to be of no more value than his other evidence. It is clear that the general South Indian situation sketched above provides a sufficient basis for the Toda developments. The South Indian exogamous patrilineal sib has retained full vigor among the Todas. The exogamous tendencies of the matrilineal line which work in varying degrees in all South Indian communities have been developed among the Todas into full-fledged exogamous matrilineal sibs, probably on the model of the patrilineal sibs and facilitated by the small size of the tribe. We have here nothing more than an isolated local development, easily derivable from a general cultural feature of South India. The resemblance to the Malabar matrilineal communities is only superficial, for there the patrilineal units, if they originally existed, have been entirely superseded by the matrilineal units. 114
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²⁰ Rivers, p. 700.

²¹ Rivers also toyed with Coorg as a source for Toda customs, basing this partly on linguistic, partly on ethnological grounds. It may be mentioned here that the polyandry alleged for the Coorgs, if it ever existed, seems to have left no trace either verbally or in relic-institutions, so far as I was able to discover in eight months of linguistic work in Coorg. The linguistic grounds given by Rivers (p. 114) for Toda knowledge of the Coorgs are incorrect. The Todas call the plains at the foot of the Nilgiris, i.e. to the south, east, and northeast, *kōmp*. This is etymologically connected with *Kōm kōmp* in the same meaning, Tamil *kōmpu* "the Tamil country comprising the districts of Coimbatore, Salem, and a portion of Mysore," in effect the same area as that meant by the Toda and Kōm words. Kōmōh *kōmpu* with the same meaning as the Tamil word, Malayalam *kōmpu* (no dictionary is available for the meaning). Rivers understood at least one instance of the Toda word as being equivalent to the English word Coorg. This is impossible. "Coorg" represents the Kōmōh *kōmpu*, which cannot be connected with Toda *kōmp* and its cognates. The Todas have no knowledge of the Coorg country or of its inhabitants.

616 234 Todas. Of the two divisions, it is the inferior one, that of the Teivilkh,
554 which is the smallest. Rivers looked upon it as made up of later arrivals in the Nilgiris who were relegated to a subordinate position by the dominant Tardharsh (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 691).

616 234 Priests of the high dairy temples, who, appointed to special offices which are not given to the ordinary *mad* dwellers, and in which they take it in turns to serve the village *tarvali*, are always chosen exclusively from the Teivilkh moiety. As an explanation of this apparent paradox,

793 [554] I was told that, despite the high ritual position which, for example, a *palol* occupies, he enjoys no superior social status, and is even looked upon generally as a servant of the tribe, fulfilling a necessary but definitely unenviable, strenuous and lonely occupation.

614 Within each moiety, there are patrilineal clans (or patrilineages) called *modol* (from *mad*, "village", and *olkh*, "man") and matrilineal descent groups (or matrilineages) which are known by the name of *polkhliol* (from *polkhthli*, "dairy-temple" and *olkh*, "man"). The Todas observe dual descent, and are very strict about it, especially in what concerns the exogamous rules which apply to each of these groups. [611] [582] They are particularly careful not to marry into the *polkhliol*, and will go to great lengths to avoid doing so, in order to remain on the safe side of this interdiction.

[114] The span of both paternal clans and maternal descent groups varies considerably and readers are referred to Rivers book *The Todas* for an account of the *modol* (see p. 643 and following), and to my own publication *The Mothersibs of the Todas of the Nilgiris* (see Bibliography) for the *polkhliol*.

614 616 There are thirteen patrilineal clans and five matrilineal descent groups among the Tardharsh. Their names are as follows, classified according to the importance which the tribe gives to each of them:

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modols

1. Karsh
2. Norsh
3. Tarar
4. Mörori or Pan
5. Kiaror
6. Nirkh
7. Konnorj
8. Unkitti
9. Kwordhoal

polkhliols

1. Pirsh or Nör
2. Kwoten-Pöidh
3. Öntö
4. Kon
5. Püth

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modols

10. Melgarsh
11. Pam or Pirspurs
12. Kidmad
13. Melgarsh outcastes sometimes
also known as Karsh

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The Teivilkh, the moiety of lower social status, has seven paternal clans and also five maternal ones, bearing the following names, which I give here too in order of what Todas consider greater importance:

*modols**polkhliols*

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Kuur | 1. Nonkothkparl |
| 2. Omgarsh or Kusharf | 2. Peffwitkoli |
| 3. Pietarl | 3. Putkoiven |
| 4. Kiötär | 4. Migmoktueratvoi |
| 5. Kulkhem | 5. Arakködjittudyurillovoy |
| 6. Klemen | (Strictly speaking these |
| 7. Kwadenor (who are Kuur outcastes) | are nicknames and not |
| | actual names, the latter |
| | not being known any |
| | longer). |

Elders of the tribe know the genealogies of each individual many generations back (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 461 and following). This is essential in order to avoid prohibited marriages, and, because the Todas are illiterate, the knowledge is memorized and expounded orally, as is the case among other peoples in this condition.

Political organization within the tribe is rudimentary. Each *modol* has a headman who is usually the eldest of the lineage. The Toda tribe as a whole, including both moieties, has a chief, the headman of the leading Karsh clan of the Tardharsh, known as the *Tuni-ngani-potvayiar*, whose temporal powers are very limited, but whose religious ones are slightly more considerable (for a fuller account of these, see *The Todas: Some Additions and Corrections to W. H. R. Rivers's Book, as Observed in the Field*, by the same author, see Bibliography). The Toda god, On, is believed to have been the first holder of this office, and the present members of the Karsh *modol* are supposed to descend directly from this deity through Ponetan, his son, and Karsh and Konari, his grandson and great-grandson.

642 With the arrival of the British in the Nilgiris, Mr. Sullivan, the first
 622 European official, appointed a headman known by the Badaga name
 648 of *monegar*. He was drawn from the Kuur clan of the Teivilkh moiety,
 [614] without any consideration for the social organization of the tribe as a
 whole, and made responsible for the assessment of the sum which the
 Todas pay to the Government for their grazing rights, etc. The tribe
 looks upon this office, filled during my stay in the Blue Mountains
 first by Piliar (52) in 1939 and then by Pilkhlind in 1949, as that of
 a servant, entrusted with the task of acting as a go-between with the
 Indian authorities, and has no consideration for it at all.

642 There exists a supreme Toda council known as the *noim*, and
 623 smaller *noims* are also in existence within each clan. These decide the
 692 inner affairs of the *modols*, while the great *noim* deals with the affairs
 [614] of the whole tribe. Its members are recruited from only four Toda
 clans, the three Tardharsh ones of Karsh, Norsh and Tarar, and the
 chief Teivilkh one of Kuur. And even then, they must come from
 sub-lineages within each of these clans. Its duties consist in the settle-
 ment of civil disputes arising between individuals, families and clans,
 and it also has wide functions in connection with Toda ceremonial.
 [684] Its most important business appears to be the settling of disputes
 [648] arising out of the custom of stealing wives from other men, and of
 deciding the amount of compensation due to the injured party. When
 affairs involving relations with the Badagas are in question, it is this
 assembly which a fifth member joins, a Badaga from the village of
 Tuneri, as has already been mentioned earlier (see p. 246).

2. CUSTOMS AND INDIVIDUAL WAYS WITH A BEARING ON A STUDY OF POLYANDRY

553 Children among the Todas receive their names very early. But whereas
 858 this is done very simply in the case of girls - the grandmother, either
 paternal or maternal, of the oldest woman of the *mad* giving the little
 girl her name - it is done with great ceremony in the case of boys.

553 In the *per varthpimi* ceremony, which takes place when the child is
 852 three months old, at the time of uncovering its face (see Rivers, *The*
 302 *Todas*, p. 331), the boy is taken by his father to where the buffaloes
 stand at the *mad*, and the hair of his head shaved off, but only across
 the middle from ear to ear leaving it long behind and in a fringe over
 the forehead. The father does the shaving, but it is the maternal uncle,
 [604] the *mun*, who gives the name. He also promises to give a calf to the

THE POLYANDRY OF THE TODAS OF THE NILGIRIS

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sacred rivers in general, nor climb holy hillocks upon which gods are supposed to live. They are not entitled to practise sorcery (I never came across a case of them doing so), to eat parts of the sacrificed calf of the *erkumpthpimi* ceremony (Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 274), to approach the spot where buffaloes are killed at funerals (for fear that they should see the bell of the temple upon which they are not allowed to set eyes), to attend the ceremony of offering a buffalo calf to a *ti-mad* called *irnörtit* (op. cit. p. 293); Teivilkh women are, besides, not permitted ever to visit the *mads* of the Tardharsh division.

The inferior status of women is further emphasized by sexual privileges connected with the office of the Teivilkh priests. Thus, the *tarvalikartmokh* has unrestricted access whenever he wishes to all women of the *mad* at which he is serving, even though these may be Tardharsh, that is, whom, normally, as members of the lower moiety, he may not approach. The *kurpalikartmokh* can sleep with the Tardharsh women of his choice, but only on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. The *wurrol* may do the same on Sundays and Wednesdays only, and may not have any relations during the time that he is priest with any Teivilkh women, not even his wife if he is married. The *palol* of the *ti* may cohabit with the Tardharsh woman that he wants (from any *mad*) outside the precincts of the *ti-mad*, but within the sanctified territory, that is, in practice, in the *sholas* only (Rivers denies this, but I have confirmed it in *The Todas, Some Additions and Corrections to W. H. R. Rivers's Book, Observed in the Field*, see Bibliography).

Todas prefer men to women to such a degree that female infanticide was, and is still to some extent, practised in the tribe, something to which we shall have occasion to revert further on. Toda society is a patriarchal one, in which the men are dominant and in which they treat their women, as most polyandrous people do, as their property. This belies the deceptive appearance of freedom which the females give on first acquaintance, an appearance which one very soon learns to appreciate at its true value when one gets to know the tribe better.

After adult marriage the bride always takes up her residence with her husband or husbands as the case may be, no known case of uxori-local dwelling having ever taken place. She becomes a member of his or their *modol*, giving the latter a territorial appearance. At the same time she ceases to belong to her maiden one, but continues nevertheless to be part of her own *polkhilol*. Inheritance is always exclusively through the male line, the father's or fathers' brothers, the next of kin

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428 on the men's side of the *palm* (a subdivision of the clan in which
614 members are grouped for certain economic duties incumbent upon
them, see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 544) succeeding to the property of
those men who die without male issue. There is never any adoption
597 of children and the custom is unknown.

614 The two moieties of the Todas are endogamous, Tardharsh marrying
[616] only Tardharsh and Teivilkh only Teivilkh. But inside each of these
[837] sections, the paternal clans and matrilineal descent groups are strictly
[582] exogamous. Extra-marital relations within these, when they occur –
[835] which they undoubtedly do – practically exclusively take place between
[123] members of the paternal clans and never, it can safely be said, within
the polkhliol. They are always considered incestuous. Avoidance of
this kind is pushed so far, at least in public, that when, for instance, I
once took Peidz of Karsh (44) for a ride in my car with one of the
sons of Tilipa of Karsh (12), he refused to sit on the seat at the back
with her but insisted on being next to me, because, he said, she was
his classificatory grandmother.

582 Child-marriage is regularly practised, little Toda boys and girls
584 being betrothed before they are three years old, preferably to their
matchuni or cross-cousin, that is, the son or daughter of their father's
sister or of their mother's brother. If no *matchuni* properly speaking
is available, some other child, classified as such by extension of the
term in accordance with Toda kinship usages, is generally chosen, the
rules of endogamy and exogamy being, of course, observed.

581 As is usual in India, the object of these child-marriages seems to be
584 mainly religious. It is considered that no one can properly accomplish
[775] his or her duties to the gods unless he or she is married. Death,
especially for someone single, would be a calamity, as he or she would
[588] not be able to enter Amnor and would wander aimlessly about as a
[766] ghost. That is why, when a Toda child dies before being married,
however young (even only a few days), its body has first to be wedded
to somebody appropriate before the funeral ceremony can be pro-
ceeded with.

595 The Todas are known to be polyandrous, and the custom is wide-
178 spread and still very vigorous within the tribe. But they are not only
that, being also polygynous, sometimes forming conjoint-marriages,
and monogamous. I found them practising all these forms of marriage
as widely as in the days of Rivers, although the latter did make the
arresting remark that monogamy with them might well develop out of
polyandry combined with polygyny, each of the men in such a species

595 spring with them it not a physiological concept, but a socially legalized
851 one. They are not the father of a given child simply because they are
married to its mother or because they have procreated it physically;
they are so because they have "given the bow and arrow" in the
pursitipimi ceremony.

595 The name means "bow we touch" and the ceremony takes place
851 during the seventh month of pregnancy of a Toda woman - which
[843] appears as if the tribe realized that children can be born prematurely
at that stage and live, and that therefore the determination of their
paternity brooks no further delay. The occasion is the evening before
the new moon. The woman, accompanied by the man who is to give
the bow and arrow, goes to a *shola* near the *mad* at which she lives,
and her companion cuts a triangular niche in a *kiersh* tree (Eugenia
[824] Arnottiana Wight) in which he places an earthenware Toda wick lamp,
[354] burning ghee. From the tree called *puv* (Sophora Glauca) they now
fashion a miniature bow, by stretching a piece of the bark across a
bent stick, and they equip it with an equally small arrow, made from
mark grass (*Andropogon schoenanthus*).

In the meantime, the relatives of the man and woman have arrived
at the spot and they are ritually saluted by the couple in the usual
Toda manner. The woman's father promises to give a female buffalo
calf, specifying in a consecrated formula which buffalo is its mother
(in a case with which I was familiar (of Konokh and Mab of Kiur
mund) it was the respective maternal uncles of the man and woman
who made the promise and gave Rs. 5/- in cash). When this has been
done, the woman goes and sits beneath the *kiersh* tree, facing the lamp
in the niche above her.

The man then approaches her holding the bow and arrow and (in
the instance mentioned above, he first thrice requested his father-in-
law's permission to do this) addresses her so that all can hear, saying,
after the *kwarsim* of his *mad*, the sentence: "*Terkishi Tirshk, purvat*
(To Turkish and Tirshk, hold the bow)." The woman replies: "*Purs*
[4] *ivera?* (What is the name of the bow)" and the man answers her by
giving the name for it which is that used in his clan, thus specifying
for the onlookers that the child to be born will belong to his *modol*,
as each of the Toda clans has another *kwarsim* name for the bow.
Question and answer are repeated three times, after which the man
gives the woman the bow and arrow. She raises it once to her forehead
and, holding it in her right hand, lifts her eyes so as to gaze at the light
in the tree trunk above her until it goes out for lack of fuel, something

the stubborn resistance of Piliar, who stood guard at the door of Töðhen's house at Apersgor, and who assured me that "Toda and Western medicine do not mix". Curiously enough, the victim agreed with his tormentor, and refused to follow me. In such cases the man usually resigns himself to a death which he feels the gods desire, but Töðhen somehow, in this case, recovered and did not die.

3. TODA POLYANDRY

The custom of polyandry is a very old one with the tribe. When questioned, the Todas will tell you that they have always practised it, and that its origins are unknown - it seems so natural a form of marriage to them. Their mythology mentioned polyandrous gods, therefore, obviously, they say, this type of matrimony has always existed.

Terkish, it seems, married an ordinary Toda called Püth who, after his death was deified. With him, the mother-goddess of the Nilgiris had thirteen children, eleven boys and two girls. None of these children married, except two of the sons, Podzövördjen and Pödjövorj, these polyandrously to an ordinary Toda woman called Notirih. She too, after her death, became a goddess, now well-known to all Todas. From this polyandrous marriage of the gods, Kwotën, the man-god who ran after Terkosh and was eventually carried off by her (see p. 265), was born. He married Mütürpani, a Toda woman and not a goddess, and had two sons by her, Koltawutn and Kahörwutn, of whom there are still descendants alive today (at a *mad* called *Kiaper* according to my 1939 notes, which I unfortunately have not been able to identify since; the late Ujar (48) having been my principal informant for the above).

Toda polyandry is mostly fraternal, as is usually the case elsewhere as well. But there are some cases of non-fraternal polyandry, although I, personally, found that, in those cases, the husbands were clan-brothers, that is, of the same clan and of the same generation which, in accordance with the classificatory type of Toda kinship, makes them look upon each other as brothers. Thus Wunkwur and Manarn of Norsh were married jointly to Puvamut of Tarar and lived together at the Norsh *mad*, where I often had occasion to visit them. She had been married to the first of her husbands (sons of two brothers) because he was her *matcham*; then Wunkwur took her to wife from his cousin by paying Manarn a certain amount of buffaloes, but after some time, the latter returned and by giving half of the buffaloes back was accepted again as Puvamat's husband. *Pursütipimi* was, however, performed for

601 It was when Sotabuf was expecting her first baby that I was able to
 123 see for myself the *urvatpimi* ceremony described by Rivers in his book
 [843] (*The Todas*, p. 315 and fol.). This was on the 12th July, 1939, when the
 child was expected to be born four months later. I never found out of
 what sex it eventually turned out to be, and have thus had to leave this
 unspecified in the above genealogy. In 1949, when I was in the Nilgiris
 [164] for the second time, Keel fell seriously ill with a bladder infection. I
 took him to the local hospital, where the doctor and staff did what they
 could to help, but to no avail. He died shortly afterwards, and his body
 [578] was cremated on the 1st September. Incidentally, it was at this funeral
 [682] that Tödhen, mentioned above, was allegedly poisoned by Piliar (52)
 with the ensuing results which I have described earlier (see p. 266).

601 With a classificatory kinship system such as the Todas use, there is
 614 not much distinction in the appellations used to designate the various
 fathers that a man may have. The generic term for father is *In* or *Aia*,
 the latter being employed more often as the form of address. These
 names are used to describe not only one's own immediate fathers, but
 also all those elders of the *modol* and of the *polkhliol* which are classi-
 fied as such: males of the clan who are the same generation as the fa-
 thers, and husbands of the sisters of the mother, including husbands of
 all those who are of the same clan and same generation as the mother.
 Elder fathers (that is, both real and classificatory) are known as *Peru-
 daia*, while younger ones are called *Karudaia*. In the Melgarsh family,
 of which I made a special study, while Pads was the *In* or *Aia* because
 he had given the bow and arrow to Silidz, Karnoz, being the elder, was
 [595] *Perudaia* and Purshwuß, the youngest, *Karudaia*. But these appellations
 could just as well have been used to designate elder and younger classi-
 ficatory fathers of the clan and mother-sib, and as such are unreliable to
 distinguish between the different immediate fathers whom children of
 polyandrous households may have.

595 With the Todas, a very conservative and patriarchal people, the rule
 of primogeniture is strictly observed. Whereas among other polyan-
 drous people, I found that dominance at home was more a question of
 personality than of seniority among the fathers, with the Nilgiri tribe,
 the eldest brother is always considered the head of the family, even if
 a younger one has given the common wife the bow and arrow, and is
 thus publicly recognized as the legal father of the offspring. There is
 only one case in which he may relinquish his rights, and that is if he
 has left with another woman and his share of buffaloes to put up a
 separate household of his own. Thus Karnoz at Melgarsh, after he had

to note that there "are many more irregular liaisons, not provided by overt institutions, and indeed punishable by fines if discovered". Of course, with a system of child-marriage and of socially determined paternity through the *pursūtpimi* ceremony, both of which to a large extent guard against the danger of illegitimate births, the fear of begetting children out of wedlock is much less than in other cultures, and consequently does not act as much as a deterrent here, with the Todas, as it would, I suppose, elsewhere. 831
[848]

In spite of careful questioning and observation, I could find no cases of impotence with men or of frigidity with women. Kuriolv, as recorded earlier (see above, p. 259), was evidently an exception in this regard, but his was a physiological impotence, due to a past accident while catching a buffalo at a funeral, and cannot, therefore, be considered as contradicting these findings. 833

B. SPECIAL STUDY: MELGARSH

This special study of the Melgarsh mund of the Todas of the Nilgiris has already been published in part in *Drives, Affects, Behaviour*, Edited by Rudolph M. Loewenstein, M.D. at the International Universities Press, Inc., New York, 1953. It is, however, elaborated in what follows with special emphasis on the anthropological description of polyandry within one family unit; observation of the children's behaviour is the subject of an addendum. 114

1. THE MELGARSH CLAN

The Melgarsh clan belongs to the Tardharsh moiety, but it differs in many ways from the others of its kind. Because of this, it appeared to W. H. R. Rivers as intermediate between Tardharsh and Teivilkh, and he even put the hypothesis forward, denied, however, by the Todas, that originally it may have belonged to the latter half of the tribe. 614
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It is not necessary here to go into all the differences that put Melgarsh at variance with the other Tardharsh clans; readers interested in the subject are referred to Rivers' book. Suffice it to say that the Melgarsh people enjoy special privileges in connection with the dairy-temples — such as supplying *wursols* and *kalimokhs* (the latter, attendants of the *palos*), taking food and buttermilk in the sacred enclosures of the *ti-mad* — the exclusive right of milking a buffalo to provide milk for a 614
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[Melgarsh Village]

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614 Tardharsh woman coming out of a post-confinement seclusion hut, per-
554 mission not to shave their heads after funerals as other Tardharsh do,
etc., which definitely make them feel apart, if not superior.

361 The name of the clan is derived from that of its chief *mad* which is
614 situated practically within the very town of Ootacamund, in the vicinity
621 of Government House and the Botanical Gardens. Other *mads*, four in
number but not always inhabited, are spread out over the Nilgiris, the
principal one after Melgarsh proper being Kakhwurkh, south of the
Ootacamund-Gudalur road, at the 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ mile.

361 The *etumad* (chief village) was chosen as the object of this study,
621 because it was occupied almost exclusively by one family group, whose
[121] characteristics made it eminently suitable for the study of polyandry and
of the upbringing of children in so unusual a setting. Situated at an
altitude of 7,500 feet, it was a typical Toda settlement, consisting of
four houses (*arsh*), a large buffalo pen in which the animals belonging
to the various individuals of Melgarsh were kept, and extensive grass
expanse for early and late grazing, a *tarvali* dairy-temple, two water
[3/2] streams (one for the house, the *ordh* or *arsh nipa*, and one for the
[244] temple, the *pali nipa*, as is customary) and a small adjacent potato field
which the local government officials had insisted on the Melgarsh people
cultivating.

A plan of the *mad* as described above is given in Fig. 18.

621 The family principally in occupation of the *etumad* consisted of three
generations of Melgarol, there being two sets of polyandrous fathers,
that of the grandfathers and of the fathers and seven small children in
the last generation, whose ages ranged from fourteen years to newly
born; there were, besides, two pairs of twins among the younger children,
each made up of a boy and girl.

The genealogy of these people is given in Table 22.

Living together with this family, and closely related to them, were
also other Melgarol, whose houses were, however, not the same. In
Table 23 I give the genealogy of Nodzer's descendants, the widow
Odzel being a resident of Melgarsh.

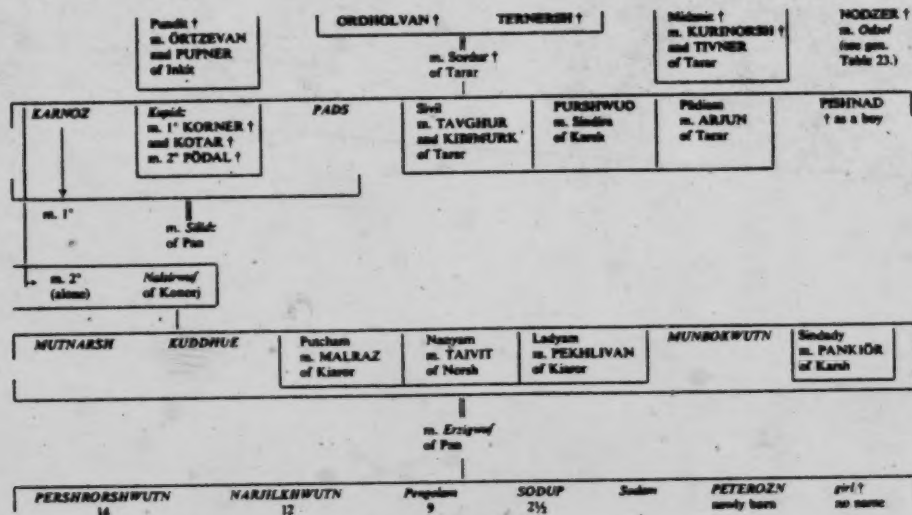
Then came the more distant relatives, as shown in Tables 24 and 25.

Now, let me give a short, personal description of each of the individ-
uals living at Melgarsh at the time of my study (in italics in the above
genealogical tables). We will begin with the eldest and finish with the
more distant relatives also residing in Melgarsh.

[159] (1) Odzel: She is an old lady, very quiet and retiring, the oldest of
the *mad*, who mixes very little with the others and spends her days

[text continues on p.280]

TABLE 22. GENEALOGY OF MELGARSH (TARDHARSH) MODOL: THE PRINCIPAL FAMILY OF THE MELGARSH ETUMAD.



Note: The name of the clan to whom outsiders belong is given after the name of someone married. The ages of the children are given in figures below their names.

Conventional signs as in Table 21.

13: Peter

E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW63 Toda AW60

[Paang p. 276]

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TABLE 23. GENEALOGY OF MELGARSH (TARDHARSH)
MODOL: DESCENDANTS OF NODZER
LIVING AT MELGARSH MAD.

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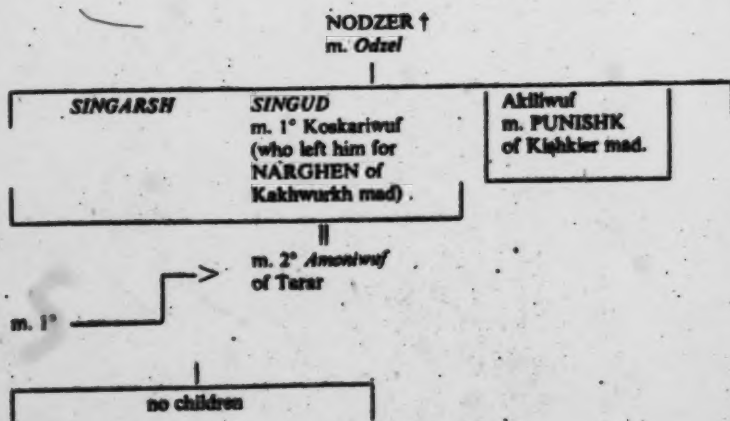
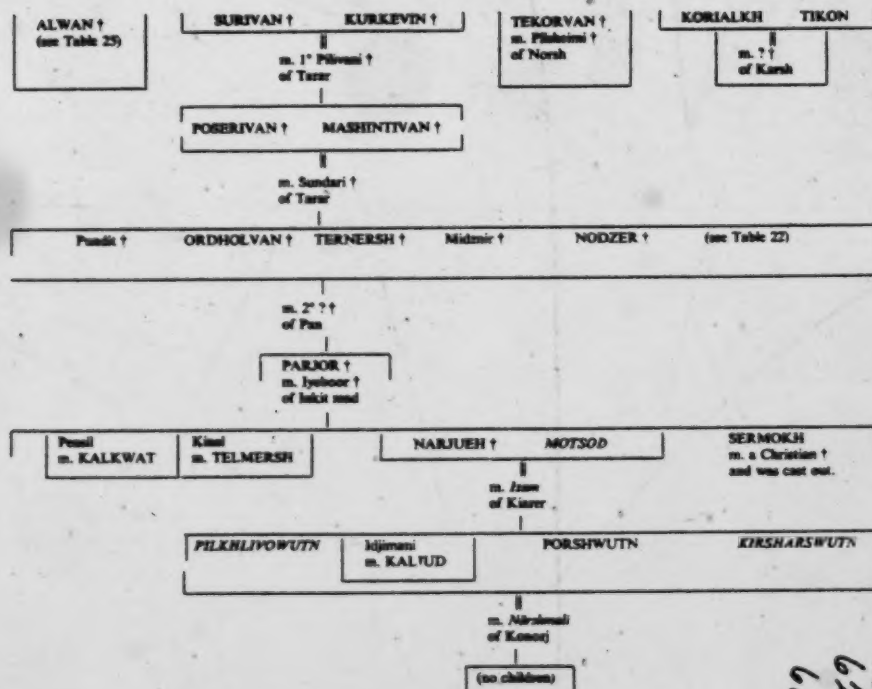


TABLE 24. GENEALOGY OF MELGARSH (TARDHARSH) MODOL: DESCENDANTS OF GT. GT. GT.
GRANDFATHERS FROM ANOTHER MARRIAGE.



Conventional signs as in Tables 21 and 22.

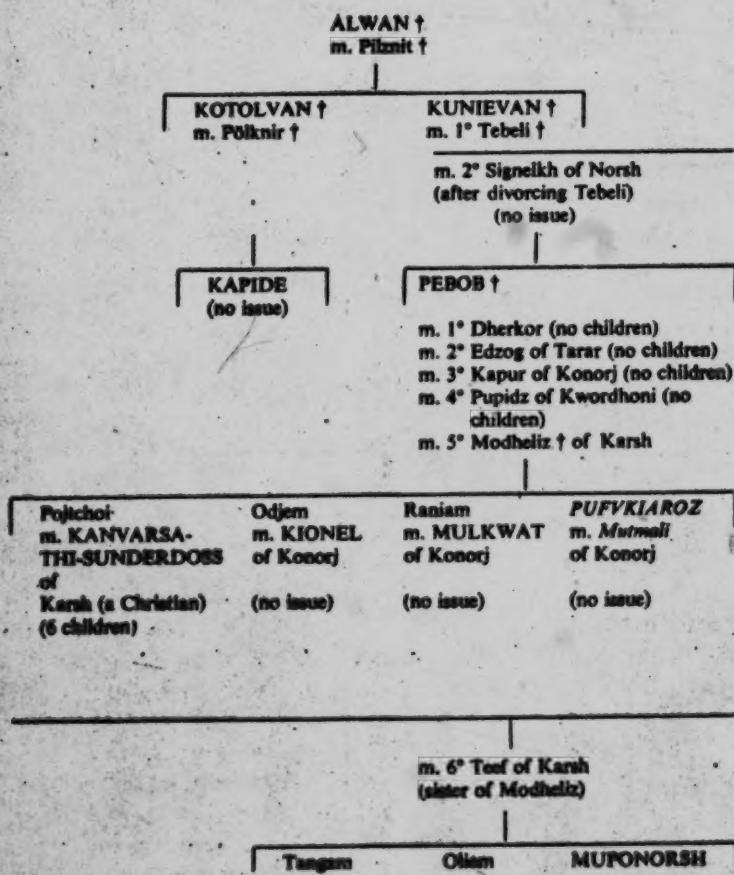
[facing p. 278]

13:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

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TABLE 25. GENEALOGY OF MELGARSH (TARDHARSH)
 MODOL: DESCENDANTS OF THE GT. GT. GT.
 GRANDFATHER ALWAN.

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159 mainly sitting in the sun or, when it rains during the monsoon, in the
621 house in which she lives. She is remarkable for a protruding front tooth;
the children do not go near her, and she occasionally receives visitors
of her own age from other *mads*.

[614] (2) KARNOZ: Aged sixty, he is the chief of the Melgarsh clan. A sly,
[754] nasty old man, he is reputed, as I have said, to be a *pili* (sorcerer) and
is universally disliked and feared, even by his own brothers. I have
already told the tale of how he became head of his *modol* by ruthlessly
eliminating Ujar and his family (see p. 266).

(3) Kupidz: She is a white-haired widow who, after the deaths of
her husbands and children, has returned to live out her remaining years
with her brothers and their family. She is a most charming person, al-
ways with a smile on her face, partaking of the life of the *mad*, doing
odd jobs here and there to help, and is a great favourite of the children,
whom she loves. She is an inveterate beggar, and is always coming to
[735] me for clothes, spectacles (for her bad eyes), medicine and *bakshish*;
[123] but she is so jolly and nice about it that I find it very difficult to say
no to her.

(4) PADS: Two years younger than Karnoz, his elder brother, he is
of a shy and mild disposition. He is a gardener in the Ootacamund
[464] Botanical Gardens which occupation is somewhat of a departure from
Toda tradition. He, nevertheless, does not give up his pastoral duties,
and takes an active part in tending the buffaloes with the others, outside
his working hours. For his work in the Botanical Gardens, he will dress
[291] in non-Toda clothes, but every evening on coming back to the *mad* he
dons the tribal *putkili* without which he would not dream of carrying
out his Toda obligations. He is now the head of the family, Karnoz
having taken a new young wife, and it is obvious that Silidz and the
children look upon him with affection, if not perhaps with much con-
sideration.

(5) Silidz: She is a hard-working housewife, worn and withered pre-
maturely by too much devotion to her domestic duties. She is fifty-five,
but appears older. She is always busy about the house, cooking meals,
fetching water, stitching the clothes of the others, even feeding the pariah
dogs on left-over scraps of food. It was with the greatest difficulty that
[124] I was able to interrogate her, as she always pleaded that she had no
time to spare for me. She is, however, of a charming disposition, never
complaining and always willing to do anything which is asked of her,
even by the small children who quite scandalously take advantage of
her good nature.

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the time of their wedding. In the unusual case of a man having no brothers and no nephews to whom the buffaloes devolve after his death, the herd will go to the *palm*. 425
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[614]

I had put up a tent in this immediate vicinity of the Melgarsh *mad*, and was thus able, by staying in it up the twenty-four hours on certain occasions, to follow the everyday life of the family. 512
[123]

The habitual routine was really quite simple. The various members of Melgarsh would sleep in their respective houses as described above, and rise very early with the sun, which in southern India is already up at 4.30 a.m. Pads and Silidz would say their morning prayers (as all Todas do, see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 31), attend to the calls of nature in the bushes close by, and then prepare the morning food. There was very little washing, the clothes which were taken off at night (underclothes are worn then) being put on again. While Silidz was doing the cooking, Pads would go out and lend a hand with the buffaloes, which were taken out of the pen at this early hour and allowed to graze on the ground in front of the house. He was assisted in this by Munbokwutn, Pershrörsh, Narjilkh, Singarsh and sometimes Singud and Kuddhue. The latter, usually *tarvalikartmokh*, would then milk the buffaloes at 8 a.m. before they left with the boys, Munbokwutn and Singarsh, for higher grazing grounds, after the morning meal. Narjilkh would have let the calves out earlier and would have helped to retain them at Melgarsh away from their mothers. The gardeners (Pads, Mutnarsh, Pilkh-livowutn and Pufvkiaroz) once the meal was over would put on some dreadful rags, which were considered by them to be European clothes, and go off to their work in the Botanical Gardens. The women would stay at home and tidy up the houses, sweep them out, wash themselves (especially the younger ones), pound rice in the *kudi*, and cook the evening meal. [514]
[296]
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The meals are selected from the following foods: milk, buttermilk, butter, *ghee* (clarified butter), millet (an Indian cereal), rice, wheat flour in the form of unleavened bread or *gur*, (unrefined cane sugar), coffee, tea, chillis, bamboo shoots, fruits from the woods and honey. No meat is eaten, as Todas, like other Indians, are vegetarians. I obtained this list from Mutnarsh, and as he was very keen to give me all the information that he could, he even asked me, through the interpreter, if I wanted to see how he ate. He was willing, he said, to eat in front of me, then and there. I had some difficulty in dissuading him, and only succeeded by accepting to have rice with him another day, which I did. In caste-ridden India, this was rather exceptional, and I was glad to join 262
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still complaining that she had insufficient milk for both, I went to the bazaar and bought her a tin of Glaxo and a bottle of Gripe-ease. On the 30th May, there was a definite change. The boy started looking better, while the girl's health began to decline. Motsod had been to my bungalow early in the morning to ask me to come, as the little girl twin, he said, was unwell. She certainly looked listless and weak, and I wondered how this could have come about so quickly. I suspected that she was not being fed properly, and I imagined it was because the Todas had, all the same, decided to let her die, in accordance with their ancient custom of female infanticide, and of doing away with one of a pair of twins. [845 123]

I went to the local government hospital, and requested the assistance of the Indian practitioner in charge, but he refused to come along, giving as an excuse that he could not possibly create a precedent by attending aboriginals at their homes. I tried to persuade Erziguwuf to travel to the hospital in my car, but she refused, saying that she was not well enough, and that the baby, besides, was too sick to stand the trip. Karnos put a word in too, stating that Western medicine was no good in a case like this, and that it was better for the child to remain at the mad. There was much wailing and crying over the bad health of the child, however, and to anybody unacquainted with Toda customs, this behaviour would have appeared perfectly genuine. [743 648]

On the morning of the 31st, Munbokwutn turned up at my bungalow at 7.30 a.m. with the news that the child had died. I went immediately to Melgarsh and found them all assembled in the front room of the Warhutthiarsh (where all clan members must be brought, even from outlying mads, to die), wailing and lamenting loudly over the death of the baby. Toda visitors started arriving to take part in the mourning, and one of the first to crawl into the house on hands and knees, howling and sobbing ritually, was Erziguwuf's father, Tinmarsh of Pan modol. It all appeared perfectly real, and one nearly felt sorry for Mutnarsh, who was sitting outside the arsh, crying his eyes out, while Sodup, either from fright or in imitation, joined him heartily. Sodam, nearby, was quite indifferent as was also Munbokwutn, the youngest father. Only later, some four months afterwards did the Todas admit to my wife that they had let the little girl die, so that really all this exhibition of grief was purely conventional and, if not completely hypocritical, at least due to feelings of guilt or to the depressing effect which inexorable customs may have on people of this kind. [757]

The funeral took place on June 1st, and as is the Toda custom, the little girl's dead body was first ceremoniously "wedded" to her matchuni, [845 763]

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a boy of the Pan *modol*, which made her one of the clan for the after-world. She was consequently cremated at the Pan cremation ground, with a further display of grief and lamentation.

ADDENDUM

Observation of the children's behaviour

123 While having necessarily to question the Todas at times, principally in order to obtain explanations of things which could not simply be observed, but also in order to get as many results as possible within the few months that I was in the Nilgiris, I managed, all the same, to do quite a lot of pure observation of their everyday behaviour, without disturbing them too much, I think, by my alien presence. The very fact, however, that I was there, upset the family pattern of usual activities. This is a problem which I am sure other anthropologists have had to contend with, but for which I, for my part at least, found no really satisfactory solution. Thus, for instance, the Melgarsh people, the Melgarol, very quickly discovered that I was interested in the children. They consequently would play them up for me as much as they could as soon as I arrived. Sodup, who was really an exceptionally amusing and bright child, was specially singled out for this, and greatly encouraged to be "funny" in my presence. I believe, nevertheless, that he would have been the darling of Melgarsh anyhow, as many of his pranks, as far as I was concerned, were his own genuine invention and were definitely not suggested by those around him.

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857 Some of the things he said and did were quite remarkable and of considerable psychological interest. Thus one day (May 2nd, 1949), he started off to tell how his father (Mutnarsh) was wonderfully skilled in the art of catching buffaloes by the horns (as is the practice at Toda funerals: see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 349). His mouth puckered up; his eyes flashing, and waving a small cane in his hand, he went on to show how he, Sodup, treated the calf which had been entrusted to his care. He said it drank too much milk and that he had to beat it to stop from doing so. Switching to another subject, he told us how a rat had made a hole in the house in which he lived, and how he had watched it go through that hole. He came back to the calf theme very soon after and began illustrating the way he beat the calf by running after the girls present: Pengelam, Mutmali and Nārahmali. Pretending to be very frightened, they ran away from him with laughter and cries, which were intended, of course, to encourage him even more. Sodam, his twin sister, looked on from her mother's side, with great round, frightened eyes.

After the funeral of his ill-fated little sister, Sodup indulged in the following antics. He began by telling us that the surviving baby cried too much, and that it had better beware, as the other one had been taken away dead, by the scruff of the neck (?) to a funeral. Changing the subject abruptly, he said that his uncle Singarsh was too often in the bazaar and

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159 of the family, he can be seen threatening his father, Mutnarsh, with a
gesture of his uplifted hand.

[126] The other children were also quite different. They were older, of course,
but their mother said that they had never been like Sodup. Pengelam
[854] would often take Peterozn from her mother and carry him around in her
arms, singing delightedly to him in an enraptured voice. Once I saw her
[276] attempt to smoke the butt of a cigarette discarded by an Indian visitor, and
Munbokwitn, in one of his rare displays of authority with the children, took
it forcibly away from her, and said angry words to her about it (Todas do
not usually smoke, but take snuff instead).

159 In the Rorschach tests which I took of Pengelam, she showed more
fantasy than any other Melgarsh inhabitant. Thus for Card V, she said
776 the ink blot looked like a flying devil. She assured me that she had seen
[125] such a one when returning from the cinema three weeks before. It was sitting
on a tree, and her mother told her it was a devil. Amoniwuf said so too.
It looked like an eagle, and she was frightened, but Erzgwuf and Amoni-
wuf were not. What frightened her, she said, was the knowledge that the
devil could throw a stone at her. A month ago, one such devil had thrown
a stone at her as she was coming back from attending the small calves, and
she had been hit on the foot. Another time, a similar devil threw a burning
stick at her from a tree in the Botanical Gardens, near the Melgarsh mad.
Her father, Mutnarsh, she said, also used to be frightened of devils many
years ago, although he is no longer so. The devil usually smells at the feet
to see if the person is afraid; if it detects fear in this way, it will deliver a
blow, but should the person show no fright, then it will not harm him.

159 Narjilkh was a quiet, hard-working lad. He did not express much, and
even when questioned answered only with reluctance. He was learning to
[868] cook, and to milk the buffaloes, as well as the ritual of the *Polkhli*, as some
day he will have to be *tarvalikartmokh*, *wursol* and even *kaltmokh* at the
ti-mad. I usually found him cutting wood in the morning, logs that Mut-
narsh had brought in from the forest before going off to his work in the
Gardens. Narjilkh's most usual companion was his youngest father, Mun-
bokwutn, for whom he seemed to have a kind of brotherly love. The two
of them were always out together with the buffaloes and apparently got on
particularly well.

As for Pershrörah, I did not have much opportunity to watch him, as
he was away most of the time. When he was at home, he struck me as
being the favourite of his mother, a quiet, silent boy of undoubted ability
as a herdman. He seemed quite intelligent, and as reported earlier, be-
[834] cause he was suspected of already having a girl friend, looked upon with
a certain amount of consideration by the rest of the family. It was while
[614] questioning Erzgwuf about him that I discovered about the maternal descent
groups of the Todas, the *polkhliol*, as she was obviously shocked at my
suggestion that Mutmali might be his girl friend. "No, no", she said em-
phatically, "that is impossible! They belong to the same *polkhliol*!" For
he, through his mother, is a descendant of Monikidz of Kiaror (26) and
she of Karner, also of Kiaror, although Erzgwuf herself is from the Pan
modol as Mutmali is of Konorj.

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
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be little doubt that this condition must have been very remote" (Rivers, 1906, p. 547). 611 114

How, then, does Emeneau discover matrilineal clans? To answer this question, let us consider the marriage rules. First, the terminology: it is not reproduced here, but there is agreement among all writers that it is of the usual Dravidian type and identical in structure to those we have described for Ceylon. As Emeneau notes, it turns around the proposition that "spouse = cross-cousin." Hence the MB is also father-in-law and FZH, and so on. Again, it is quite clear that all marriages must take place between the persons in the categories of *matchuni* (cross-cousins). Both Rivers and Emeneau note that mistakes occur and that they are disapproved of; and Emeneau provides important examples of how the kinship terminology must be altered after a mistake has taken place. 114 601 582

Even though there are mistakes, the correct union is the marriage of *matchuni*. Rivers (1906) states the rule unequivocally: "While marriage with the daughter of a father's brother and a mother's sister is prohibited, the daughter of a father's sister or a mother's brother is the natural wife of a man" (p. 512). The clearest recognition of the rule is to be seen in the funeral ceremonies of an unmarried girl. Like the Nambudiri Brahman in Malabar, the Toda do not risk letting women out of their control unmarried. The system must be closed and hence the girl even in death must be firmly married. In the final funereal and tragic bow-and-arrow ritual, "the husband always stands in the relation of *matchuni* to the wife" (p. 514). 114 582 588 764

The position seems to us clear enough, but Rivers does not always follow his own logic. He goes astray in trying to translate the matter into English: "While marriages between *matchuni* are the rule and marriages between the children of *matchuni* [1] certainly not unlawful, we have seen that marriage with the child of a *matchuni* [2] is prohibited. From our point of view, this means that while marriage with a first cousin is orthodox, marriage with a first cousin once removed is unlawful, while again it seems that marriage with a first cousin twice removed may be lawful" (1906, p. 513; my numerals). 114 582

We need hardly point out that in these categorical systems persons in situation (1) are again directly *matchuni* to each other, whereas those in situation (2) are in the position of son or daughter. Rivers' ethnography is so detailed that the basic pattern comes through very clearly, even though many further questions may be raised. Emeneau has much greater difficulty. He seems to think simply in terms of exogamy. The patrilineal clan is "exogamous." What, then, of the children of the sisters of the mother? It is here that he reifies the *puliol* into a matrilineal "aib": "One of the functions of the matri- (614) •

114 lineal sib has appeared in this discussion of the *kinship terminology*.
582 The *primary function* was shown . . . to be that of *regulating marriage*; no Toda may marry a person who is a co-member of a matri-
614 lineal sib" (Emeneau, 1941, p. 167; my italics).

114 Note also how the terminology operates: ". . . even when the
601 lines of a pedigree have been lost to memory the correct terminology
614 based on the lost pedigree is maintained. Each male and female
born to the sib is addressed with the appropriate term by every
other member of the sib, and persons related by marriage to and
descent from the sib members are also addressed with the appropriate
terms" (p. 165).

(171) It is clear that the terminology is operating in the same way as the
categories of marriage we have seen in Ceylon, but even though this is
a particularly impressive use of language in channeling social be-
havior, Emeneau wants to link the prohibitions to "exogamy" of one
kind or another.

114 The entire case turns around the use of an admittedly difficult key
602 word, *puliol*. Rivers is quite specific about the use of this term. To
614 him it implies certain "prohibited relations": (1) FBD, (2) MZD, (3) FZ,
ZD, (4) FFZD (1906, p. 509), and he notes in an important passage
p. 509): ". . . if a man thought of a given woman, he thought of her
as one, or not one of his *puliol*, and it seemed to me in several cases
as if it came almost as a new idea to some of the Todas that his *puliol*
included all the people of his own clan."

(52) It is a compliment to River's perceptiveness as an ethnographer that
(171) he has here detected a subtle matter which gives a good indication to
the kin structure of the Toda. He is not really mistaken; it is just
that the Toda do not think of the *mad* as exogamous, just as the Sin-
halese simply do not think in terms of exogamy, but of prohibited and
enjoined "categories."

To Emeneau this passage merely means that Rivers mistakenly in-
cludes the clanmen in the *puliol* who are only the matri-sib members.
In trying to fit the recalcitrant facts into his argument he gives many
examples which indicate that he has misunderstood this classificatory
system:

[Rivers' fourth category (above)] . . . the daughters of the sisters of his
father's father gave him trouble because of the two cases of marriage to such
persons found in the genealogies. *The truth is that such marriages are not
forbidden*. The sisters of a man's paternal grandfather are not *poljo:l* to him,
but *urd mort kva:dvoj*; they cannot have married his *urd mort kva:dvoj*; and
their daughters will not be related to him in any prohibited way. The rule
given that a person must not marry the child of his . . . *matchuni*, i.e.,
cross-cousin . . . is incorrect. His cross-cousin may have married a man of

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
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his own mod, in which case the daughter will be forbidden to him, [otherwise] there are no objections. (Emeneau, 1937, p. 105)

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Emeneau's examples are clear enough. In fact, he also provides internal and conclusive evidence that the Toda disagree with him. About the use of the term *puliol* he says, in a later work (1941, p. 171): "Dare we read in the interpretation that the woman and her daughter belonged to one matrilineal sib and this branch of it is now going to fail, so that the woman feels shame before the matrilineal sib on that account? The Todas certainly seem not to interpret in this way." And, he goes on, "we feel that the *puliol* (Rivers' spelling) relation between mother and daughter is perhaps is point, though the Todas do not make such an interpretation and the context is decidedly against it." In fact, the Toda merely say that *puliol* includes all the relatives without reference to *matri-sib*.

The matter is not really very complicated. Emeneau comes surprisingly near but entirely misses the point. He notes (1937, p. 106) that the semantics of the word *puliol* means "man of the *puli* or *palli*," but, saying that "will not explain our word," he goes off in an entirely different direction trying to find exogamous "houses." In fact, the semantics are quite eloquent: *puliol* are the people who are sacred like the *palli* (dairy)—that is, no "entrance" is permitted.⁸ They are precisely all the prohibited categories of kin; hence the term appears to stand opposed to *paiol* or "affines." Rivers does not juxtapose the two but makes the meaning of *paiol* abundantly clear in his treatment of Toda funerals (e.g., 1906, p. 358). The *paiol* (pp. 450, 459) are precisely the persons such as MB (or father-in-law), cross-cousins, ZS (or son-in-law) whom Dumont (1957b) has singled out as "affines."

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Hence we see in the Toda case that Dumont's highly interesting structural juxtaposition of "kin vs. affine" is noted and culturally recognized by the Toda themselves in the opposition of *puliol* or *paliol* vs. *paiol*, or kin/affine.

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It seems clear that what Rivers wrote in 1906 accords well with some of the best recent analyses of South Indian kin structures. Whatever we finally arrive at as the real meaning of the term *puliol*, we

⁸ Prince Peter of Greece in a very interesting paper also notes these semantics and links the *puliol* with prohibited categories of kin which he describes, following Emeneau, as "matrilineal sibs." Yet the line of argument from the prohibition of sexual relations between children suckled by one mother to "matrilineal sib" is by no means clear. The Sinhalese, too, have similar ideas on milk kinship (see above, p. 199) without corporate matrilineages. The evidence for "sibs" such as names which connote obacenity, joking, and simple myths seems curiously meager. This case, too, really rests on the sexual prohibitions which, as we have argued, permit interpretations of a nonlineal kind. I came across this material too late to incorporate it into the chapter. See Peter, Prince of Greece (1951).

(614)